

"Knights Under the Prophet's Banner"

"Knights Under the Prophet's Banner"

Part One

London-Al-Sharq al-Awsat-- Al-Sharq al-Awsat has obtained a copy of a book that is regarded as thelast will" of Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, Usama Bin Laden's primary ally and leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization. In the book, the second most wanted man by the United States talks about important stages in his life, hisAfghan Arab" companions, and the reason why (Islamist) movements are inimical to the United States.

In the introduction to the book Al-Jihad leader says:I have written this book for an additional reason, namely, to fulfill the duty entrusted to me towards our generation and future generations. Perhaps I will not be able to write afterwards in the midst of these worrying circumstances and changing conditions. I expect that no publisher will publish it and no distributor will distribute it."

In the book that is entitled “***Knights Under the Prophet's Banner"*** Al-Zawahiri recounts the events of the Al-Jihad Organization's early years as he experienced them, beginning with his joining the first Al-Jihad cell in Cairo in 1966, that is, before he completed his 16th year (Al-Zawahiri was born in 1951) and then recounts subsequent events that shook the world.

The book was smuggled by an Egyptian Islamist called A.S." who is a close aide of Al-Zawahiri out of an Afghan cave in the Kandahar region to the border city of Peshawar and then to London. Al-Sharq al-Awsat will publish chapters of this book as of today.

Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization who, after Usama Bin Laden, is the second most wanted man in the world by the United States, is hiding either in a cavern or hideout in the mountains surrounding Kandahar, the spiritual capital of Taliban ruler Mullah Omar, or in a hideout somewhere near the Pakistani border. It is not unlikely that the thunder of the bombs dropped by the US aircraft that are pounding Afghanistan close to his hideout is disturbing his thoughts as he writes his next book, whose last chapters might be about to be completed. This second book is about the 11 September 2001 events and the US air strikes that have caused the death of dozens of al-Qa'ida leaders, notably Abu-Hafs al-Masri, Bin Laden's brother-in-law and the clandestine organization's former military commander; Nasr Fahmi Nasr, Al-Jihad Organization's financial official; and Tariq Anwar, the official in charge of special operations.
In the new book that, according to Islamist sources in London, has not yet come out, Al-Zawahiri speaks about the Al-Jihad Organization in Egypt, the reasons for his personal emigration from Egypt, and the waging of a battle under Bin Laden's command against thedistant enemy," a battle that has ruined everything in Afghanistan, led to the death of approximately 15 of Al-Jihad's leading figures, and dealt a blow to the Taliban.

Islamic sources believe that Al-Zawahiri's next book will not be less sensational than the bookMeditations Under the Roof of the World" written by theArab Afghans'" primary theoretician and thinker Abu-al-Walid, an Egyptian Islamist wanted by the United States. He is very close to Bin Laden and Mullah Omar.

Al-Zawahiri, who comes from a wealthy Egyptian family, joined the ranks of the opponents of the late Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat when he was only 16 (as published; when Al-Sadat became President, Al-Zawahiri was already 20, since he was born in 1951). He was later imprisoned on the charge of involvement in Al-Sadat's assassination.

Al-Zawahiri formed a group all of his own, of which he was the leader (amir). It included his brother Muhammad, nicknamed the Engineer, who was extradited by the United Arab Emirates to Egypt in 2000.

Prior to October 1981 (month in which Al-Sadat was assassinated) Al-Zawahiri was introduced to military intelligence officer Abbud al-Zumar, who persuaded him to join Abd-al-Salam Faraj's group. Al-Zawahiri was arrested in connection with the assassination of former President Anwar al-Sadat and spent three years in jail. In 1985 he left Egypt for Peshawar and there he succeeded in uniting the Afghan Arab groups.

Al-Zawahiri heads a list of 14 persons wanted by Egypt because of their involvement in violent attacks. The list includes Yasir Sirri, director of the Islamic Surveillance Center in London (currently detained at Britain's Peal Marsh jail on the charge of involvement in assassinating the Afghan military commander Ahmad Shah Masoud).

Egyptian military courts have passed both a death sentence and a life imprisonment verdict in absentia against Sirri. Others names on the list include Adil al-Sayyid Ahmad; and Mustafa Hamzah, alias Abu-Hazim, whom Egypt accuses of planning an assassination attempt against President Husni Mubarak in Addis Ababa and who is described by certain sources as the commander of the Islamic Group's military wing. Other names include Tharwat Shihatah, Rifa'i Taha, Issam al-Ghamri, Hussein Shamit, Muhammad al-Islambuli (brother of Al-Sadat's assassin), and Adil Abd-al-Majid Abd-al-Bari (currently detained at Brixton jail southwest of London, pending a decision on a US extradition request on charges of colluding with Bin Laden.)

Although Al-Zawahiri has appeared on numerous occasions to be al-Qa'ida's deputy leader, it appears that he is the real leader from behind a veil, and, according to a London IslamistAl-Zawahiri is behind the deep-rooted hatred of the United States and the West in Bin Laden's heart."

Despite all these circumstances, Al-Zawahiri has elected to come forward before the public in the past few weeks with a book that has been smuggled from an Afghan cave to the border city of Peshawar and then to London. In the book he recounts his personal history and tells of events, as he personally experienced them, beginning with his joining the first jihad cell in Cairo in 1966, that is before he completed his 16th year (he was born in 1951), and incidents that shook Egypt and the world, including President Al-Sadat's assassination and ending with the current events on Afghan territory. He presents his views on some controversial issues that were raised throughout his personal life journey, such as the disagreements over the manner to deal with Al-Sadat and the dispute that erupted between the pillars of the Al-Jihad and Islamic Group organizations inside the Turrah prison after the Egyptian authorities arrested their members in the wake of the viewing stand incident (reference to Al-Sadat's assassination during a military parade).

The book is divided into three sections, has the titleKnights Under the Prophet's Banner", and the substitleMeditations on the Jihadist Movement". The title describes the contents of the book. The knights to whom he alludes are the leaders and members of the Islamist movements. It can be noticed that the title is a response to a name widely used in the Middle Ages to describethe Knights of the Holy Tomb", during the Crusades in the Middle East.

Al-Zawahiri's book has 21 chapters in some of which he talks about his old colleagues, particularly Yahya Hashim, a prosecutor who persuaded Al-Zawahiri in the late 1960s to join his Jihadi cell. He devotes an entire chapter to his former comrade Issam al-Qamari, an officer in the Egyptian Armed Forces' armoured corps, who was killed while trying to escape from Turrah prison in the wake of Al-Sadat's assassination. Everyone who has followed the birth and development of radical Islamist movements knows about the close bonds between Al-Zawahiri and Al-Qamari.

Al-Zawahiri devotes another full chapter to the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad by Al-Jihad members. He devotes two chapters to those whom he describes asthe enemies of Islam, Jews and Americans."

Perhaps Al-Zawahiri has produced only a few books because he was occupied in organizational work and in rebuilding the Al-Jihad Organization after traveling to Afghanistan in the wake of the crackdown on Al-Jihad following Al-Sadat's assassination. The circumstances through which he lived in Afghanistan also did not give him time to write much.

However, the 11 September events increased his book sales in London's Islamic bookshops including his famous workBitter Harvest" in which he discusses the Muslim Brotherhood's relationship with the Egyptian authorities in the eras of King Faruq and Presidents Jamal Abd-al-Nasir and Anwar al-Sadat. The book contains sharp criticism of the Muslim Brotherhood's leading figures. Other books includeThe Black Book", andAllaying the Anger in the Believers' Hearts". This last book examines shari'ah rulings onmartyrdom operations."

Al-Zawahiri never failed to comment on the positions adopted by other Islamist movements, such as the Islamic Group that was behind a strategic turning point when it adopted a historic decision in March 1999 to halt all military operations inside and outside Egypt, in response to a peace initiative that the Islamic Group's traditional leaders presented in July 1997.

Bin Laden's Physician

In a special chapter calledAfghanistan: Emigration and Preparation", the Al-Jihad Organization leader talks about the causes that led Islamists in general, but particularly the members of Al-Jihad Organization, to join the war in Afghanistan. He also outlines the premises from which Al-Jihad members proceeded when, in

cooperation with Bin Laden, they formedThe Global Front for Fighting Jews and Crusaders" in 1998. Afterwards they directed their operations against US targets.

In the book's introduction Al-Zawahiri says:I have written this book to fulfill a duty entrusted to me towards our generation and future generations. Perhaps I will not be able to write later on in the midst of these worrying circumstances and changing conditions."

He adds:I have written this book although I expect no publisher to publish it or a distributor to distribute it."

For this reason, some people are looking on this book/memoirs as alast will."

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) regards Ayman al-Zawahiri as Bin Laden's right-hand man and the mastermind of the bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar el Salam (Tanzania) in August 1998. Ayman al-Zawahiri and his brother Muhammad (the Engineer) headed the list of suspects in thereturnees from Albania" case before a Cairo military court in April 1999. Al-Zawahiri received a death in sentence in absentia in that case. There were also other Islamists on the list of suspects in that case who had come from several Arab capitals and from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, and Albania.

According to Islamist sources in London, Al-Zawahiri apparently filled a vacuum in Bin Laden's life to the point that when he was arrested in Cairo in 1996, Bin Laden paid the bail to have him released. Later the two left together for Afghanistan where they apparently planned the bombing of the two US embassies in Nairobi and Dar el Salam in 1998.

In the bookKnights Under the Prophet's Banner," Al-Zawahiri discusses the religious opinion (fatwa) pertaining to the killing of Americans, which contravenes the principles of Islamic shari'ah and also contradicts the strategy and traditions of Al-Jihad Organization itself that argue that (fighting the near enemy is better than fighting the distant enemy). That strategy is the main pillar of Al-Jihad's ideology as outlined in the bookThe Unfulfilled Duty" by Muhammad Abd-al-Salam Faraj, an electrical engineer, who was executed in the Al-Sadat assassination case.

Islamic sources maintain thatAl-Zawahiri's signing of the statement of 'The Global Front for Fighting Jews and Crusaders' in February 1998 was an ill-omened act for Al-Jihad Organization because it caused the rapid downfall of the most prominent leaders of the group who were residing abroad, and members of the group who were living in other Arab countries were extradited to Egypt.

The Islamists say that Al-Zawahiri's signing of that famous statement caused the US authorities to escalate their efforts against the group's members in Europe. (The US authorities are now asking for the extradition of two Al-Jihad leaders who are held in Brixton jail, Adil Abd-al-Majid Abd-al-Bari and former Egyptian artillery officer Ibrahim Idrus. Both of them are waiting for the House of Lords' ruling on their extradition to the United States along with another suspect, Khalid al-Fawwaz)

The Islamist sources add that the US authorities' pursuit of the organization's leaders after the bombings of the Nairobi and Dar el Salam embassies in August 1998 led to the collapse of the organization's secret bases in Western capitals. Several of the organization's most prominent leaders were arrested in Albania and deported to Egypt in connection with thereturnees from Albania" case. What made the organization's ordeal worse was the unexpected appearance of prominent Al-Jihad figure Ahmad Salamah Mabruk, Al-Zawahiri's right-hand man, at the Huckstep Military Court north of Cairo, against whom an earlier death sentence had been passed in absentia. During the new trial Mabruk revealed damaging information about the group's leaders.

A Look Back to the Past

In a prologue to the first section of the book that carries the titleA Look Back to the Past", Al-Zawahiri says: It is important to me at first to answer three questions about this book. Who wrote it? Why did he write it? For Whom did he write it?

About himself as the author, Al-Zawahiri says:It is a man who professes to have a connection with the Mujahideen and to have forged a bond with them. He hopes to spend whatever is left of his life in serving the cause of Islam in its ferocious war against the tyrants of the new Crusade. He wrote it while being a wanted man, a fugitive."

Why did he write this book? Why at this particular time? What benefit will it bring to the reader? What can it add to the large flood of daily books? The answer is: This book was written in an attempt to revive the Muslim nation's awareness of its role and duty, its importance, and the duties that it needs to perform. The book also explains the extent of the new Crusaders' enmity to the Muslim nation and this nation's need to see the dividing line between its enemies and loyal subjects.

Al-Zawahiri adds:We need to admit that successful attempts have been made to infiltrate our ranks, that these attempts have attracted some of our prominent names, and our enemies have added them to the crowds that serve their purposes, including the writers of falsehoods, those who exploit principles for personal gain, and those who sell their fatwas (religious rulings) as commodities."

In the book's introduction Al-Zawahiri explores the 11 September events and the subsequent air strikes against Afghanistan by saying:This book has been written as a warning to the forces of evil that lie in wait for this nation. We tell them: The nation is drawing closer every day to its victory over you and is about to inflict its rightful punishment (qasas) on you step by step; your battle against this nation is destined to lead to inevitable defeat for yourselves, and all your efforts are no more than an attempt to delay this nation's victory, not to prevent it."

Al-Zawahiri describes this stage asthe stage of the global battle, now that the forces of the disbelievers have united against the Mujahideen."

He adds:The battle today cannot be fought on a regional level without taking into account the global hostility towards us."

He declares:In writing this book, I have sought to explain some of the features of the currently raging epic battle, and to alert the readers to the hidden and open enemies, their wolves and their foxes, so that they can be on their guard against the brigands who wish to rob them."

Al-Zawahiri gives the following description of the caders of the Islamist organizations, perhaps with particular emphasis on the Arab Afghans:They possess a quality that their enemies cannot hope to acquire. They are the people who most eloquently bear witness to their Allah 's power, Who has given them a strength drawn from His Own strength, until they have turned from a scattered few who possess little and know little, into a power that is feared and that threatens the stability of the new world order."

Al-Zawahiri adds:I have also written this book to perform my duty to our generation and the generations that will follow. Perhaps I will not be able to write more amid all these worrying circumstances and changing conditions that remind me of Al-Mutanabbi's (famous Arab poet) words: A stranger without friends in every town he visits; whenever the need becomes greater, the number of those who can help grows smaller."

To Whom Did Al-Zawahiri Write the Book?

As to the audience to whom he wrote the book, Al-Zawahiri says:I wrote this book so that it will be read by two kinds of people. The first is the intellectual group, the Mujahideen group. For this reason I have sought to write it in a clear, simple style and avoided the methods and inferences of specialists."

He adds that hecould not gather enough documentation necessary for this kind of analytical writing because of the lack of stability in Afghanistan." He points out thatfurthermore, the author possesses only his testimony which he cannot provide in detail because many of its characters are still in the midst of battle, and many of its events are still interacting in the field."

Towards the end of the book's introduction, Al-Zawahiri describes himself asan emigrant fugitive, who gives his backing to other emigrants and Mujahideen; he strengthens their resolve, and reminds them of Allah 's bountiful mercy."

The Al-Jihad leader says that the nameArab Afghans" is a tendentious description because these Mujahideen have never been solely Arab, but Mujahideen from all parts of the Islamic world, though the Arabs have been a distinctive element in this group."

He adds:These young men have revived a religious duty of which the nation had long been deprived, by fighting in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Chechnya."

He remarks:In the training camps and on the battlefronts against the Russians, the Muslim youths developed a broad awareness and a fuller realization of the conspiracy that is being weaved. They developed an understanding based on shari'ah of the enemies of Islam, the renegades, and their collaborators."

He continues:Of course the world order was not going to accept the existence of this growing phenomenon of Arab Afghans that is rebellious against it and a threat to its existence, especially after Western and, later, communist occupation made continuous efforts over an entire century to subjugate the Muslim nations with regulations, laws, forged elections, states of emergency, and immigration and naturalization laws."

He points out that the reaction to the Arab Afghans began with their expulsion from Pakistan in the early 1990s and reached its peak in 1992.

Al-Zawahiri says:It is an irony of fate that Pakistan's secular government expelled to an unknown destination the very persons who had defended its borders. On the Afghan side of the Torkham border crossing between Pakistan and Afghanistan stands a cemetery that contains the remains of more than 100 Arab Mujahideen from Afghanistan. It stands as a witness to the Pakistani Government's attitude to those who defended its borders against the communist threat."

Al-Zahahiri says:Now the Arab Afghans have become dispersed throughout the world. Some are refugees, some immigrants, some living in hiding, some captives, some dead, some carrying arms to defend yet another Muslim front, and some have despaired and are trying to return to a normal life after seeing the enemies' viciousness and the ferocity with which they pursue the Mujahideen."

He adds:The Arab and Western media are responsible for distorting the image of the Arab Afghans by portraying them as obssessed half-mad people who have rebelled against the United States that once trained and financed them. This lie was repeated more frequently after the Arab Afghans returned to Afghanistan for the second time in the mid-1990s in the wake of the bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar el Salam."

According to the leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization, the purpose of the distortion campaign against the Arab Afghans is clear and obvious, namely, the wish of the United States to deprive the Muslim nation of the honor of heroism and to pretend to be saying: Those whom you consider heroes are actually my creation and my mercenaries who rebelled against me when I stopped backing them."

Al-Zawahiri says:This lie is self-contradictory. If the Arab Afghans are a US creation, why did the United States seek to expel them over a period of two years?"

He adds:The truth that everyone should learn is that the United States did not give one penny in aid to the Mujahideen."

He quotes the declaration of his primary ally Bin Laden:The financial aid to the Afghans from popular Arab sources amounted to $200 million in 10 years."

Al-Zawahiri explains:If the Arab Afghans are the mercenaries of the United States who have now rebelled against it, why is the United States unable to buy them back now? Would not buying them be more economical and less costly than the security and prevention budget that it is paying to defend itself now?"

Part Two

Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri, Usama Bin Laden's ally in al-Qa'ida organization, has written a book that is regarded as his last will and carries the titleKnights Under the Prophet's Banner", which is published by Al-Sharq al-Awsat in theAfghanistan: Emigration and Preparation" Section. In the book Al-Zawahiri says thathis travel to faraway countries was predestined." He had been temporarily filling in for a physician colleague in a clinic in Cairo's Al-Sayyidah Zaynab neighbourhood that was run by the Islamic Medical Society, a society administered by the Muslim Brotherhood. He adds that the clinic's director, a Muslim Brother, asked him to go to Afghanistan to help in a relief effort. Al-Zawahiri says that he was one of three doctors who arrived in the border city of Peshawar in the summer of 1980, to participate in relief work among the Afghan refugees.

He devotes one whole chapter of his book to comment on the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad after the campaign to expel the Afghans from Pakistan began.

Al-Zawahiri says:The basic objective was to attack the US Embassy in Islamabad, but if that proved difficult to do, then to strike at any other US target in Pakistan. However, following intensive and detailed surveillance, we discovered that bombing the US Embassy was beyond our capability."

The Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization leader maintains that the opportunity to go to Afghanistan came to him as a gift on a gold platter because he was always searching for a secure base for Jihadi activity in Egypt because the members of the Islamist movement were the target of repeated security crackdowns. He quotes a saying by his old friend Abu-Ubaydah al-Banshiri, former military commander of al-Qa'ida forces, who drowned in Lake Victoria in 1996:It is as if 100 years were added to my life when I came to Afghanistan."

Al-Zawahiri devotes a large part of one chapter to talk about Kamal al-Sananiri, the official in charge of the Muslim Brotherhood'sSpecial Order Group." The story of Al-Sananiri's death in jail occupies a significant part of Al-Zawahiri's memory of all these events. Al-Zawahiri claims that Al-Sananiri died under the torture of Hasan Abu-Basha, director of the State Security Investigation Department at that time, who went on to become interior minister.

Al-Zawahiri remarks:Although I never knew Al-Sananiri personally, the evidence of his presence in Peshawar and Afghanistan used to precede us wherever we went." Al-Zawahiri cites a story by Abu-Talal al-Qasimi Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim, spokesman for the Islamic Group, who says that the United States abducted Al-Sananiri in Croatia and handed him over to Egypt in the mid-1980s. Abu-Talal used to occupy a jail cell next to Al-Sananiri's cell.

Al-Zawahiri stayed in Peshawar for four months and says that he realized during that time how rich that region was in jihad potential for theJihadi movement". He then returned to Egypt and was imprisoned in jail in connection with the Al-Sadat assassination case. He left jail towards the end of 1984 and returned to Afghanistan again in 1986.

Al-Zawahiri says:My connection with Afghanistan began in the summer of 1980 by a twist of fate, when I was temporarily filling in for one of my colleagues at Al-Sayyidah Zaynab Clinic, which was administered by the Muslim Brotherhood's Islamic Medical Society. One night the clinic director, a Muslim Brother, asked me if I would like to travel to Pakistan to contribute, through my work as a surgeon, to the medical relief effort among the Afghan refugees. I immediately agreed because I saw this as an opportunity to get to know one of the arenas of jihad that might be a tributary and a base for jihad in Egypt and the Arab region, the heart of the Islamic world, where the basic battle of Islam was being fought.

He adds:The problem of finding a secure base for jihad activity in Egypt used to occupy me a lot, in view of the pursuits to which we were subjected by the security forces and because of Egypt's flat terrain which made government control easy, for the River Nile runs in its narrow valley between two deserts that have no vegetation or water. Such a terrain made guerrilla warfare in Egypt impossible and, as a result, forced the inhabitants of this valley to submit to the central government and be exploited as workers and compelled them to be recruited in its army."

He claims thatthe outlet for pent-up resentment was the explosions that occurred at infrequent intervals just like an extinct volcano that no one knows when it will erupt, or like an earthquake that no one knows when it will

shake the ground with all that lies on it. It was not strange, therefore, that the history of the contemporary Islamist movement since the 1940s has been one of repeated crackdowns by the authorities."

Al-Zawahiri adds:For this reason this invitation (to participate in medical assistance to the Afghan refugees) came as a predestined event. I accepted the invitation out of an earnest wish to get to know the suitable arenas where I could establish a secure base for Jihadi action in Egypt, particularly during the term of Anwar al-Sadat when the signs of a new crusade became apparent to everyone who had perspicacity and was obvious to everyone concerned about his nation's affairs."

And so I actually left for Peshawar in Pakistan in the company of a colleague who was an anesthetist. We were soon followed by another colleague who specialized in plastic surgery. We were the first three Arabs to arrive there to participate in relief work among the Afghan refugees."

We were preceded to Peshawar by Kamal al-Sananiri, may he rest in peace. We could see that he had left his mark wherever we went. He had played a pioneer role in establishing the hospital where we worked and whenever we met with Mujahideen leaders, they would speak of his assistance to them and his efforts to unite them. Although I never met him, his actions and contributions demonstrated his generosity and beneficial services in the cause of Allah ."

Al-Zawahiri recounts a story about Al-Sananiri in which he says:It was not strange that Al-Sananiri should be killed in the campaign of arrests that began with (Al-Sadat's) decision to take certain persons into custody in September 1981."

Al-Zawahiri alleges that (Kamal al-Sananiri was killed by acts of torture personally carried out by Hasan Abu-Basha, director of the State Security Investigation Department and later interior minister). He maintains that one must pause and ponder the story of the killing of Kamal al-Sananiri (may he rest in peace).

According to Al-Zawahiri's tale in his bookKamal al-Sananiri was arrested in September 1981 and after Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated in October of the same year, the regime realized that the State Security Investigation Department, military intelligence, and general intelligence were completely unaware of the pent-up resentment that seethed inside Egypt, as Al-Zawahiri puts it.

Indeed the State Security Investigation Department's ignorance about what was happening in Egypt made it reassure Al-Sadat that its campaign of arrests against opposition figures in September 1981 had secured the country in his favor and protected him from political opposition in general, and Islamist opposition in particular."

Al-Zawahiri says in his book:For this reason the investigation department hastened to begin a new investigation of the Muslim Brotherhood despite its earlier conviction that the Muslim Brothers were peaceable. The investigation focused on persons in the second and third ranks of leadership. Prominent among these persons was Kamal al-Sananiri. Several considerations were taken into account in making this choice including the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood's General Guide Umar al-Talmasani was an old man who could not tolerate torture, and his moral status as general guide would cause problems for the regime. The regime also knew that actual power and the details of the Muslim Brotherhood's activities were not in Umar al-Talmasani's hands, including the extensive activity carried out by Al-Sananiri in maintaining communication between the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and its international branch abroad. Al-Sananiri used to travel a lot abroad for this purpose. He also sponsored the Afghan cause and was a pioneer in backing the Afghan jihad and maintaining contacts with its leaders. He also had a prominent status inside the Muslim Brotherhood."

Al-Zawahiri says:The Muslim Brotherhood had a peculiar organizational structure. The overt leadership was represented by General Guide Umar al-Talmasani, who was the leader in the eyes of the population and the regime. Actually the real leadership was in the hands of the Special Order Group that included Mustafa Mashhur, Dr. Ahmad al-Malat, may he rest in peace, and Kamal al-Sananiri, may he rest in peace. This made the State Security Investigation Department believe that if the Muslim Brotherhood had another secret organization, its secrets would be known by Kamal al-Sananiri."

Al-Zawahiri adds:The interrogation of Kamal al-Sananiri began in a brutal manner. Dr. Abd-al-Mun'im Abu-al-Futuh, my colleague in my medical school days, once told me this story while we were talking across the windows of our cells in Al-Qal'ah jail. He said that Kamal al-Sananiri was taken in front of his brothers, including Abu-al-Futuh, from his cell in the Turrah prison, which was used as a way station before prisoners were moved to other jails. He was dressed in a gellaba and a cloak. Abd-al-Mun'im Abu-al-Futuh did not see him after that

except at the headquarters of the Socialist Public Prosecutor. His body was swollen and the signs of severe torture were apparent on him. He told his colleagues that he was being subjected to a level of torture to which he had not been subjected during the era of (former President) Jamal Abd-al-Nasir. Al-Sananiri informed the interrogator who questioned him at the office of the Socialist Public Prosecutor that he had been tortured."

Sometime later one of the prison guards, a sergeant, told Abd-al-Mun'im Abu-al-Futuh, that one of their brothers had been killed under torture. Abu-al-Futuh later found out that it was Al-Sananiri."

The Interior Ministry announced that he had committed suicide by hanging himself from a water pipe in his solitary cell with the belt of the dressing gown he was wearing after writing this sentence on the wall:I have killed myself to protect my brothers." To prove his own theory about what happened, Al-Zawahiri says:Another witness who was present at his torture told me that Kamal al-Sananiri, may he rest in peace, on the last night of his life was tortured with extreme severity."

Al-Zawahiri says:The strange thing after all these well-known facts, of which the Muslim Brothers were well aware, is that they did not act to avenge his blood, although they knew all the details about the way he was killed. They did not even bring a lawsuit against those responsible for his death, whose identities were known, and it would have been easy to prove their responsibility in court. Kamal al-Sananiri entered jail on his feet and left it as a lifeless corpse. The prison warden, the prisons department, and the Interior Ministry were responsible for what happened and an autopsy would have refuted any story fabricated by the Interior Ministry to explain his death."

Speaking about his sojourn in Peshawar, Al-Zawahiri says:When I came into contact with the arena of Afghan jihad in 1980, I became aware of its rich potential and realized how much benefit it would bring to the Muslim nation in general, and the Jihadi movement in particular. I understood the importance of benefiting from this arena. Hence, after I stayed for four months there on my first visit, I returned in March 1981 and spent another two months there. I was then forced to return to Egypt because of pressing circumstances back home."

It was then Allah 's will, may He be praised and Whom we thank for the good and the bad that befalls us, that I should spend three years in an Egyptian jail that ended in late 1984 but, because of certain private circumstances, I was unable to return to the arena of Afghan jihad until mid-1986."

During my contacts and dealings with those who worked in that arena, several vitally important facts became clear to me and it is necessary to mention them here:

1. A Jihadi movement needs an arena that would act like an incubator where its seeds would grow and where it can acquire practical experience in combat, politics, and organizational matters. The brother martyr-for this is how we think of him-Abu-Ubaydah al-Banshiri, may he rest in peace, used to say: 'It is as if 100 years have been added to my life in Afghanistan.'" {Al-Banshiri drowned in Lake Victoria in 1996.)"

2. The Muslim youths in Afghanistan waged the war to liberate Muslim land under purely Islamic slogans, a very vital matter, for many of the liberation battles in our Muslim world had used composite slogans, that mixed nationalism with Islam and, indeed, sometimes caused Islam to intermingle with leftist, communist slogans. This produced a schism in the thinking of the Muslim young men between their Islamic Jihadi ideology that should rest on pure loyalty to Allah 's religion, and its practical implementation."

   "The Palestine issue is the best example of these intermingled slogans and beliefs under the influence of the idea of allying oneself with the devil for the sake of liberating Palestine. They allied themselves with the devil, but lost Palestine."

   Al-Zawahiri says:Another important issue is the fact that these battles that were waged under non-Muslim banners or under mixed banners caused the dividing lines between friends and enemies to become blurred. The Muslim youths began to have doubts about who was the enemy. Was it the foreign enemy that occupied Muslim territory, or was it the domestic enemy that prohibited government by Islamic shari'ah, repressed the Muslims, and disseminated immorality under the slogans of progressiveness, liberty, nationalism, and liberation. This situation led the homeland to the brink of the abyss of domestic ruin and surrender to the foreign enemy, exactly like the current situation of the majority of our (Arab) countries under the aegis of the new world order."

Fighting against the Russians

(Al-Zahawari continues)In Afghanistan the picture was perfectly clear: A Muslim nation carrying out jihad under the banner of Islam, versus a foreign enemy that was an infidel aggressor backed by a corrupt, apostatic regime at home. In the case of this war, the application of theory to the facts was manifestly clear. This clarity was also beneficial in refuting the ambiguities raised by many people professing to carry out Islamist work but who escaped from the arena of jihad on the pretext that there was no arena in which the distinction between Muslims and their enemies was obvious.

3. Furthermore, the Afghan arena, especially after the Russians withdrew, became a practical example of jihad against the renegade rulers who allied themselves with the foreign enemies of Islam. Najibullah in Afghanistan was an example that we had seen before. He prayed, fasted, and performed pilgrimage. At the same time he prohibited government by Islam and allied himself with the enemies of Islam, allowed them to enter his country, and brutally oppressed the Muslims and the Mujahideen.

4. A further significant point was that the jihad battles in Afghanistan destroyed the myth of a (superpower) in the minds of the Muslim Mujahideen young men. The USSR, a superpower with the largest land army in the world, was destroyed and the remnants of its troops fled Afghanistan before the eyes of the Muslim youths and as a result of their actions."

   That jihad was a training course of the utmost importance to prepare Muslim Mujahideen to wage their awaited battle against the superpower that now has sole dominance over the globe, namely, the United States. It also gave young Muslim Mujahideen-Arabs, Pakistanis, Turks, and Muslims from Central and East Asia-a great opportunity to get acquainted with each other on the land of Afghan jihad through their comradeship-at-arms against the enemies of Islam. In this way the Mujahideen young men and the Jihadi movements came to know each other closely, exchanged expertise, and learned to understand their brethren's problems."

While the United States backed Pakistan and the Mujahideen factions with money and equipment, the young Arab Mujahideen's relationship with the United States was totally different.

Indeed the presence of those young Arab Afghans in Afghanistan and their increasing numbers represented a failure of US policy and new proof of the famous US political stupidity. The financing of the activities of the Arab Mujahideen in Afghanistan came from aid sent to Afghanistan by popular organizations. It was substantial aid.

The Arab Mujahideen did not confine themselves to financing their own jihad but also carried Muslim donations to the Afghan Mujahideen themselves. Usama Bin Laden has apprised me of the size of the popular Arab support for the Afghan Mujahideen that amounted, according to his sources, to $200 million in the form of military aid alone in 10 years. Imagine how much aid was sent by popular Arab organizations in the non-military fields such as medicine and health, education and vocational training, food, and social assistance (including sponsorship of orphans, widows, and the war handicapped. Add to all this the donations that were sent on special occasions such as Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha feasts and during the month of Ramadan."

Through this unofficial popular support, the Arab Mujahideen established training centers and centers for the call to the faith. They formed fronts that trained and equipped thousands of Arab Mujahideen and provided them with living expenses, housing, travel, and organization."

Changing Bin Laden's Guard

About the Afghan Arabs' relationship with the United States, Al-Zawahiri says in his book:If the Arab Mujahideen are mercenaries of the United States who rebelled against it as it alleges, why is it unable to buy them back now? Are they not counted now-with Usama Bin Laden at their head-as the primary threat to US interests? Is not buying them more economical and less costly that the astronomical budgets that the United States is allotting for security and defense?"

The Americans, in their usual custom of exaggeration and superficiality, are trying to sell off illusions to the people and are ignoring the most basic facts. Is it possible that Usama Bin Laden who, in his lectures in the year 1987, called for boycotting US goods as a form of support for the intifadah in Palestine, a US agent in Afghanistan?

I remember that he visited us in those days at the Kuwaiti-funded Al-Hilal Hospital in Peshawar and talked to us about those lectures of his. I remember that I told him: 'As of now, you should change the way in which you are guarded. You should alter you entire security system because your head is now wanted by the Americans and the Jews, not only by the communists and the Russians, because you are hitting the snake on its head.

Furthermore, is it possible that the martyr-as we regard him-Abdallah Azzam was a US collaborator when in fact he never stopped inciting young men against the United States and used to back HAMAS with all the resources at his disposal?

Is it possible that the Jihadi movement in Egypt can be a collaborator movement for the United States when Khalid al-Islambuli and his comrades killed Anwar al-Sadat, even before the phenomenon of the Arab Mujahideen in Afghanistan emerged?"

Is it possible that the Jihadi movement in Egypt can be a US collaborator movement when in fact it brought up its children, ever since the movement started, to reject Israel and all the agreements of capitulation to it and to consider making peace with Israel as a contravention of Islamic Shari'ah?"

The United States was taken aback by the fact that its scheme in Afghanistan was spoiled by theArab Afghans" and by the Afghan Mujahideen themselves who had true hearts."

The United States wanted the war to be a war by proxy against the Russians, but, with Allah 's assistance, the Arab Mujahideen turned it into a call to revive the neglected religious duty, namely jihad for the cause of Allah ."

For this reason the United States was alert to this danger in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its primary condition to implement the Dayton agreement was to expel all the Arab Mujahideen from Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The seriousness of the presence of Muslim, particularly Arab, young men in the arena of Jihad in Afghanistan consisted of turning the Afghan cause from a local, regional issue into a global Islamic issue in which the entire nation can participate.

Why We Blew Up the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan?

In his book Ayman al-Zawahiri provides the first direct account of the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad. After the campaign to expel the Arab Mujahideen from Pakistan began, the Egyptian Government began to act like a lion in Pakistan, relying on the backing given to it by the United States, which has strong influence on the Pakistani Government. Earlier-since the 1950s--the Egyptian Government's relationship with the Pakistani Government had been bad because the Egyptian Government used to back India on the Kashmir issue. Ever since the days of Jamal Abd-al-Nasir, the Egyptian Government regarded Kashmir as a domestic Indian problem.

He says that the Egyptian Government began to pursue the Arabs, but particularly Egyptian nationals, who had stayed on in Pakistan. The situation got the point where a student at Islamabad's Islamic University who was residing legally in the country was deported. Furthermore two Egyptians who had acquired Pakistani citizenship because they had married Pakistani women were arrested. The Pakistani Government's attitude of surrender got to the point where it handed over these two naturalized Pakistanis to the Egyptian Government before the Pakistani courts could finish examining their petition, with total disregard for Pakistani law and the Pakistani constitution.

Al-Zawahiri says that the expansion of the Egyptian Government's anti-Islamist campaign in Egypt and the fact that it transferred the battle to areas outside Egypt required a response.

He says: For this reason we decided that our response should be an attack on a target that would hurt this vile alliance. After some consideration, we decided to form a team that would carry out the response. It was instructed to hit the following targets:

First: To hit the US Embassy in Pakistan, and if not possible, to hit another US target in the country, and again if not possible to attack the embassy of a Western country famous for its historical enmity to the Muslims, and if not possible, to hit the Egyptian Embassy.

After extensive surveillance, it was decided that hitting the US Embassy was beyond the team's capability. Surveillance was conducted on another US target in Islamabad but it was discovered that it had a very small number of US personnel and that most of the casualties would be among Pakistani nationals.

It was also discovered that hitting the other Western embassy was beyond the team's capabilities. Hence, it was finally decided to hit the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad, which was not merely conducting the pursuit campaign against the Arab Afghans in Pakistan but was also playing a serious espionage role against the Arab Afghans. Later the Pakistani security agencies discovered among the debris of the ruined embassy documents that revealed Indian-Egyptian cooperation in the field of espionage.

Prior to the attack, the team entrusted with the bombing sent us word saying that it could hit both the US and Egyptian embassies if we could come up with an additional sum of money. We had provided what we could, however, and could not provide any more. Hence the team focused on blowing up the Egyptian Embassy. It left the embassy's ruined building as an eloquent and clear message.

Part Three

A look back on the past

In his book, Ayman al-Zawahiri says:The jihad movement in Egypt began its current march against the government in the mid-1960s when the Nasirite regime began its famous campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) group in 1965. Some 17,000 members of the MB were put in prison and Sayyid Qutub (one of the most prominent MB thinkers) and two of his comrades were executed. The authorities thought that they had eradicated the Islamic movement in Egypt once and for all.

But Allah willed that those events were the spark that ignited the jihad movement in Egypt against the government.

The Islamic movement in Egypt, even though it made an effort (marasat al-juhd) against the enemies of Islam in the past, its general line was not against the ruling regime but against the external enemy. The movement's ideology and media continued to try to get close to the head of the ruling regime (the king) and to recognize him as the legitimate authority in the country.

This arbitrary separation between the external enemies and their internal agents led to many disasters and setbacks because the movement's members faced their enemy with their chests but left their backs exposed to his ally. Thus, they were stabbed in the back on the orders of those whom they faced with their chests."

Sayyid Qutub

On Sayyid Qutub, Al-Zawahiri says:He (Sayyid Qutub) affirmed that the issue of unification in Islam is important and that the battle between Islam and its enemies is primarily an ideological one over the issue of unification. It is also a battle over to whom authority and power should belong-- to Allah 's course and shari'ah, to man-made laws and material principles, or to those who claim to be intermediaries between the Creator and mankind.

This affirmation greatly helped the Islamic movement to know and define its enemies. It also helped it to realize that the internal enemy was not less dangerous than the external enemy was and that the internal enemy was a tool used by the external enemy and a screen behind which it hid to launch its war on Islam.

The group rallying around Sayyid Qutub decided to deal blows to the existing government in its capacity as a regime that was hostile to Islam and which departed from the course of Allah and refused to apply the shari'ah.

The group's plan was simple. It did not aim to overthrow the regime or to create a vacuum of power but to deal to the regime preventive, defensive, and retaliatory blows if it planned a new campaign of repression against Muslims.

However, the meaning of this plan was more important than its material strength. The meaning was that the Islamic movement had begun a war against the regime in its capacity as an enemy of Islam. Before that, the Islamic movement's ethics and principles--and in which some believe until now--affirmed that the external enemy was the only enemy of Islam.

Although the Nasirite regime tortured and maltreated Sayyid Qutub's group, it failed to stop the growing influence of this group among Muslim youth.

Sayyid Qutub's call for loyalty to Allah 's oneness and to acknowledge Allah 's sole authority and sovereignty was the spark that ignited the Islamic revolution against the enemies of Islam at home and abroad. The bloody chapters of this revolution continue to unfold day after day.

The ideology of this revolution and the clarity of its course are getting firmer every day. They are strengthening the realization of the nature of the struggle and the problems on the road ahead--the road of the prophets and messengers and their followers until Allah Almighty inherits the earth and those who live on it.

Professor Sayyid Qutub played a key role in directing the Muslim youth to this road in the second half of the 20th century in Egypt in particular and the Arab region in general."

Al-Zawahiri claims that after the execution of Sayyid Qutub his words acquired dimensions not acquired by any other religious scholar. Those words, which Qutub wrote (metaphorically) with his own blood, became the landmarks of a glorious and long road and the Muslim youth came to realize how much the Nasirite regime and its communist allies panicked from Sayyid Qutub's call for unification.

Al-Zawahiri says:Sayyid Qutub became an example of sincerity and adherence to justice. He spoke justice in the face of the tyrant (Jamal Abd-al-Nasir) and paid his life as a price for this. The value of his words increased when he refused to ask for pardon from Jamal Abd-al-Nasir. He said his famous words,the index finger (which holds the prayer beads) that testifies to the oneness of Allah in every prayer refuses to request a pardon from a tyrant."

The Nasirite regime thought that the Islamic movement received a deadly blow with the execution of Sayyid Qutub and his comrades and the arrest of thousands of Islamic movement members. But the apparent calm on the surface concealed under it an immediate interaction with Sayyid Qutub's ideas and calls and the beginning of the formation of the nucleus of the modern Islamic jihad movement in Egypt."

Thus this nucleus, which the writer of this book joined, was formed in the shape of the Al-Jihad Organization. Events added another serious factor that affected the march of the jihad movement in Egypt, namely, the 1967 setback. The symbol Jamal Abd-al-Nasir--whose followers tried to depict to the people as the immortal and invincible leader--fell.

Al-Zawahiri says in his book:The tyrant leader, who mistreated his foes and threatened them in his speeches, became a man panting after a face-saving peaceful solution.

The jihad movement realized that the woodworm had begun to eat the idol until he became weak because of the effects of the setback and he fell to the ground amid the bewilderment of his priests and the horror of his worshippers. The jihad movement became more resolved, realizing that its archenemy was an idol created by a huge propaganda machine and a campaign of repression against defenseless and innocent people."

Al-Zawahiri adds:The Nasirite regime then received a deadly blow represented by the death of Jamal Abd-al-Nasir three years after the setback, three years that he lived suffering from the consequences of the defeat. Thus, the myth of the Leader of Arab nationalism who would throw Israel into the sea was destroyed.

The death of Abd-al-Nasir was not the death of one person but also the death of his principles, which proved their failure on the ground of reality, and the death of a popular myth that was broken on the sands of Sinai."

Al-Zawahiri continues:The huge funeral held for Abd-al-Nasir was only the residue of the state of unconsciousness that prevailed among the Egyptian masses thanks to his strong media and a kind of farewell by the Egyptians to their ruler. Soon they replaced him with another ruler, who took another turn and started to sell them a new illusion.

A few years later, the name of Jamal Abd-al-Nasir would only arouse feelings of indifference among ordinary Egyptians.

Al-Sadat took the Islamists out of the bottle

Al-Zawahiri says in his book:Anwar al-Sadat's assumption of power marked the beginning of a new political transformation in Egypt represented by the end of the Russian era and the start of the American era. Like every transformation, this transformation started shaky and weak but it gradually became stronger and its features began to become clearer with the passage of time.

Al-Sadat began removing the protégés of the old regime. His strongest weapon in resisting those remaining protégés was his permission of some forms of freedom for the repressed people.

"As soon as some pressure was lifted from the Islamic movement, the giant (the Islamic movement) emerged from the bottle and the extensive influence of the Islamists among the masses became clear. Muslim youth won the overwhelming majority of the seats in university and school student unions in a matter of few years. The Islamic movement began its march to control the trade unions.

A new phase of growth began for the Islamic movement. But this time there was no repetition of the past; rather the Islamic movement built on it, benefiting from previous experiences, lessons, and events.

The Islamic movement began entering this phase of growth, spreading among its youth a deep awareness that that the internal enemy was not less dangerous than the external enemy. This awareness began to strongly grow on the basis of clear legitimacy and bitter historical and practical experience.

Some old symbols tried and are still trying to reiterate worn-out concepts that fighting can only be against the external enemy and that there is no collision between Islamic movements and their governments. However, the new awareness was stronger in its legal bases and clearer in its practical experience of all these illusions.

The Military Technical College Affair

Al-Zawahiri writes in his book about what became known in Egypt as theMilitary Technical College" affair. The military technical college group began to be formed after the arrival of Salih Siriyah in Egypt where he started to make contacts with MB symbols, such Mrs. Zaynab al-Ghazali and Hasan al-Hudaybi, and to form a group of young people, urging them to confront the ruling regime.

Al-Zawahiri says that Salih Sariyah was a mesmerizing speaker and a highly intellectual person, who received a doctorate in education from Ayn Shams University (in Cairo). He knew very well shari'ah science. Al-Zawahiri says that he met Sariyah once during an Islamic jamboree at the College of Medicine. Sariyah had been invited to the jamboree to deliver a speech. Al-Zawahiri says:As soon as I heard the speech by this visitor I realized that his words carried weight and meaning on the need to support Islam. I decided to meet this visitor but all my attempts were in vain."

The group formed by Sariyah grew and was able to recruit a number of Military Technical College students, including Karim al-Anadoli.The youth began putting pressure on Sariyah to start the confrontation. Under their pressure he agreed to carry out an attempt to overthrow the regime. A plan was prepared under which group members would silently overpower the policemen guarding the college gate, enter the college, and seize weapons and armoured vehicles with the help of students acting as night supervisors. They would then march toward the Arab Socialist Union headquarters to attack Al-Sadat and his government officials who were meeting there."

Al-Zawahiri says:The coup attempt failed because it did not take into consideration the objective conditions and the need to prepare well for it. The group who attacked the gate was untrained. The plan also met other difficulties during implementation.

But the meaning that I would like to stress is that the Islamic movement after Abd-al-Nasir successive blows to it proved that it was too big to be eradicated and too strong to be pushed into despair and frustration. This movement spawned a new generation a few years after the 1967 defeat. This generation returned to the field of jihad, brandishing its weapon against ruling regime, which was hostile to Islam and which was allied with the United States this time.

This operation (coup attempt) proved that the young Mujahideen did not differentiate between the old Nasirite-Russian era and the new Al-Sadat era; both eras were equally hostile (to Islam)."

Salih Sariyah

Although this operation was nipped in the bud, it marked the new change in the general march of the Islamic movement, which decided to carry arms against the government. Earlier (during Abd-al-Nasir era) the Islamic movement carried arms against the Nasirite repression campaign to prove that repression did not work and that what Abd-al-Nasir's cronies thought was a campaign to rout out the jihadi current in 1965 was just the spark that revived the movement.

The group was taken to court and Salih Sariyah, Karim al-Anadoli, and Talal al-Ansari were sentenced to death.

The government started to haggle with the three to submit a pardon request to the president of the republic. Karim al-Anadoli submitted a pardon request as a result of which his death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Salih Sariyah and Talal al-Ansari refused to submit a pardon request.

One day, political prisoners gathered around Salih Sariyah in the prison's small courtyard and urged him to submit a pardon request. He told them: What power does Al-Sadat have to prolong my life? He then told them: Look at this gloomy prison, this bad food, and these blocked lavatories in which we throw this food. This is the real life. Why should we cling to it?

During the last visit before execution day Salih Sariyah's wife came with her nine children to the prison. He told her: If you submit a pardon request, you are divorced.

On execution day, a force from the prison and the state security investigation department entered the cell of Talal al-Ansari to tie him and take him to the scaffold. He asked them to let him pray and kneel twice. The state security investigating department officer told him: Pray when you go to whom you are going."

Al-Zawahiri says that two prisoners--Adil Faris and Salih Faris--heavily beat that officer and gouged one of his eyes out. The officer then left work at the state security investigation department. As for Adil and Salih faris, they emigrated from Egypt. Adil Faris went to Afghanistan where he was killed in the Nahrin battle in northern Afghanistan.

Revival of the al-Jihad Organization

After several years those who left prison from the Technical Military College case tried to revive the organization twice. The first attempt ended with the arrest of the group in 1977. The second attempt ended with the arrest of the group in 1979 because of the presence of an undercover agent among them.

Muhammad Abd-al-Salam Faraj, author of the book theAbsent Duty" (Al-Daribah al-Gha'ibah), was among those arrested in the second group. Faraj's activity was concentrated in Cairo, Al-Jizah, and northern Egypt.

At the same time, the Salfi jihadi current was controlling university student unions in southern Egypt and rejecting the MB's attempts to contain it and make it join the line of pacification with the government.

Those youth in southern Egypt universities began to know Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman and to invite him to their lectures, conferences, and jamborees.

After controlling the universities these youth moved to work among the masses outside the universities. Their most important activities were noisy demonstrations and meetings against peace with Israel and Al-Sadat's hosting of the Shah of Iran in Egypt.

Muhammad Abd-al-Salam Faraj and his comrades met with the youth in southern Egypt. With the unification of these two currents the Islamic Group (Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah) was formed under the leadership of Umar Abd-al-Rahman, who is now serving a life sentence in Rochester prison in Minnesota in the United States on charges of involvement in the (1993) New York bombings.

Part Four

"Among the Believers men who have been true to their Covenant with Allah : Of them some have completed their vow (to the extreme), and some (still) wait: But they have never changed (their determination) in the least."
The Holy Quran

The Assassination of Al-Sadat was part of a plan to kill the upper echelons of the regime and control the Radio Building and Asyut

Al-Zawahiri says in his book:The events of the rebellion of Dhu-al-Hujjah 1401 Anno Hegira, corresponding to October 1981 AD, focused on two fronts:

The first front was the attack on Al-Sadat and the upper echelons of his regime during the military parade on 6 October and the attempt to kill the largest number of officials and seize the radio building (in Cairo). Activity on this front succeeded in killing Anwar al-Sadat but the upper echelons of the regime escaped and the attempt to seize the radio did not succeed.

The second front was the armed uprising in Asyut and the attempt to seize the city. The uprising started two days after the assassination of Al-Sadat; in other words, after the army succeeded in controlling the country and securing the regime. This attempt succeeded in seizing some police centers. But the government summoned the Special Forces, which started pounding the resistance positions of the brotherly young mujhahidin who were forced to leave these centers after running out of ammunition.

The armed rebellion in Asyut was doomed to fail. It was an 'emotional' uprising that was poorly planned. The rebellion occurred two days after the assassination of Al-Sadat and was based on an unrealistic plan to seize Asyut and then advance northward toward Cairo, disregarding any figures about the enemy's strength and materiel.

Thus the 1401 Hegira (1981) uprising ended with a fundamental gain--the killing of Al-Sadat. The attempts that followed it were not successful because of poor planning and insufficient preparation.

However, the issue must not be viewed from the angle of these small events. That uprising must be viewed from the angle of the aftereffects of these events and the facts that they proved. It is obvious that the uprising proved several facts:

1. The events showed the courage of the Islamists who attacked forces that were more experienced and larger in number and equipment.

2. The events showed the offensive nature of the Islamist movement, which decided to attack the regime in an attempt to kill its upper echelons among a huge crowd of spectators.

3. The events showed that changing the regime, which had departed from Islam, became the central idea that preoccupied the Islamists, who rejected partial reform programs, patch-up jobs, and the attempts to beautify the ugly face of the regime with some reformatory measures.

4. The events proved that the phase of the unilateralism of the regime in attacking the Islamic movement had ended and that the enemies of Islam in the White House and Tel Aviv and their agents in Cairo must expect a violent response to every repression campaign they carried out.

5. The events proved that the idea of work through martial laws, submission to the secular constitution imposed by referendums, and recognition of the legitimacy of the government had become worn-out ideas in the minds of the Islamists. Those Islamists decided to carry arms to defend the absented creed, the banned shari'ah, their violated honor, their homeland that was occupied by new international imperialism, and their sanctities which were sold in the agreements of surrender with Israel.

6. The events also showed the utter failure of the security services, which did not know that the country was charged with the jihadi current. This current was able to infiltrate the armed forces and to take from

them some weapons and was able to join the military parade forces, despite the tight security measures that were adopted to secure the parade.

I say that the youth of the 1981 uprising were 'pure' and vigilant, avoiding and even rejecting blandishments. They carried arms in defense of their religion, creed, sanctities, nation, and homeland."

Egyptian acting prosecutor resorts to guerilla warfare

The technical military college operation was not the only one at that time. A few months after the operation Yahya Hashim made an attempt to start a guerilla war in the Al-Minya Mountains. Although this attempt did not succeed because it did not take into consideration the necessary objective conditions for the success of this kind of warfare, it was another indication that the change in the ideology of the Islamic movement had become a tangible fact. This fact indicated that the Muslim youth this time were no longer like their predecessors in the 1940s.

Yahya Hashim was a pioneer of jihad in Egypt. He was entitled to this title. Allah endowed him with a proud spirit and high morale, which prompted him to sacrifice everything, disregarding the vanities of this world. He had another good quality--his enthusiasm for what he believed in. He had--may Allah have mercy on him--a pure soul that sympathized with his brother Muslims.

Yahya Hashim was acting prosecutor--a post desired by many young men. But he did not care about this post. He was always ready to sacrifice this post for the sake of Allah , disregarding the ephemeral things of this world.

I got acquainted with Yahya Hashim and his nascent group after the June 1967 setback.

How he joined us was a unique story. At that time the country was sweeping with demonstrations, especially by university students and workers, protesting against the catastrophe suffered by the Nasirite regime and represented by the retreat of its forces before the Israeli forces. The strongest Arab army--which the leader of the Arab nation (Jamal Abd-al-Nasir) had prepared to throw Israel and those behind Israel into the sea--was defeated. This huge army became remnants searching for escape in the Sinai desert from the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). The Air Force was destroyed on the ground before it could take off."

Demonstration byAl-Jihad" from Al-Hussein Mosque

We decided to stage a demonstration from the Mosque of Imam Al-Hussein, may Allah be pleased with him, and to proceed to the Al-Azhar Street and then to the center of Cairo in solidarity with the university students and workers in the Hulwan industrial area.

We went to the Imam Al-Hussein Mosque during the Friday prayer. We distributed ourselves in the corners of the mosque. After the prayer, Yahya Hashim stood up and addressed the people, explaining the setbacks suffered by the Muslim nation. We responded with shouts ofAllah Akbar." But the detectives were prepared for this tense atmosphere. Undercover agents surrounded him and started pushing him outside the mosque with the people surprised by his dare which they were not used to during the Abd-al-Nasir era. But Yahya did not stop shouting with a loud voice while the undercover agents surrounded him from all sides and pushed him outside. When he was in the square outside the mosque, he continued to deliver his speech.

The undercover agents resorted to a trick to silence him. One of them seized him in the neck and told him: 'You thief, you have stolen my wallet.' The undercover agent started shouting with a voice louder than Yahya. Undercover agents gathered around him and pushed him into a nearby pharmacy, which they closed. Soon afterward a car came and took him to Hasan Tal'at, the director of the General Investigation Department (GID), at that time.

The Nasirite regime was confused and weak at that time. Its security services did not know how to react. They were between the two fires--a rotten and corrupt leadership paralyzed by the scandal of the defeat and a popular resistance that broke the barrier of fear and surprised these services with a new and unprecedented phenomenon of resistance and rejection. In the GID building, they beat him heavily and then took him to GID Director Hasan Tal'at.

Yahya Hashim told us about the interview that took place at Hasan Tal'at's office and the dilemma in which the regime had found itself. Popular anger had reached the judiciary ranks. The GID director found himself before

an acting prosecutor (Yahya Hashim) who enjoyed judicial immunity. The country was boiling like a volcano, which prevented the GID director from resorting to his usual methods of interrogation, especially of Muslims.

Hasan Tal'at started defending himself before Yahya Hashim, reiterating that he was a Muslim defending Islam while in fact he was promoted to that post because he served the regime at the expense of the blood and corpses of Muslims. But Yahya Hashim attacked him like a lion, refuting his claims. On the wall behind Hasan Tal'at's office was a frame with the name of Allah inside it. Yahya shouted him: 'Why do you put that frame over head while you do not know Allah ?'

The regime was forced to retreat under those difficult conditions and it released Yahya Hashim willy-nilly.

The Imam Al-Hussein Mosque demonstration was an emotional outburst commensurate with our age then.

Yahyah Hashim did not leave an opportunity without inciting against the regime and calling for Jihad by Muslims. His activity coincided with the death of Abd-al-Nasir and the gradual release of MB members from prison at the beginning of the era of Al-Sadat.

Yahya Hashim met with several MB leaders. Due to his pure nature and strong emotion, he enthusiastically approached them as the legitimate leaders of the Islamic movement, as they had persuaded him.

He came to us carrying their visualization of work. Their visualization was that the leadership would be for them but that they would not be responsible for any problem occurring to any group. I told Yahya: 'This is an opportunistic attitude. They want the good things but not the bad things from leadership.'

But Yahya Hashim was unstoppable in his love for and trust of the MB. However, Allah destined that he should discover the truth from a true experience. One of his brothers (comrades) had a security problem, which led him to hide from the security services. Yahya went to the MB leaders to help him solve the problem but he was shocked by their answer. They told him that he must abandon this brother completely and not to give him any help. This shocked Yahya and led to an estrangement between him and the MB. Yahyah continued to take care of his brother and until he took him to a safe place.

The Technical Military College incident took place in 1974. Yahya Hashim sympathized with the mutiny and closely followed its news. At that time he began thinking of starting an armed confrontation with the government. He started urging those close to him to wage a guerilla war. He broached the idea to me but I did not approve it at all. I told him that the terrain of the country was not good for this kind of warfare and I gave him a book about guerilla warfare.

However, the idea continued to dominate him and a number of his brothers. Yahya Hashim began contacting a number of brothers accused in the Technical Military College incident. He began preparing a plan for their escape, exploiting his post as deputy prosecutor. The basic idea was to secure a false order transferring them from their prison to another prison and to let them escape during the transfer. However, undercover agents uncovered the plan when they seized a letter smuggled to the suspects in the dock from the court's hall. After the seizure of the letter, which detailed the plan, Yahya Hashim decided to escape and to start his private project of guerilla warfare.

Yahya Hashim and his comrades escaped to a mountainous region in the Al-Minya Province on the edge of the desert. They bought some weapons and took up positions there on the pretext that they were a military unit. But the mayor of a neighboring village became suspicious and informed the police, which attacked them and arrested them after they ran out of ammunition. Yahya Hashim tried to pounce on the unit's commander, who opened fired at Hashim, killing him. This is the story of Yahyah Hashim, who was really a pioneer in jihad and who sacrificed everything for the sake of his beliefs."

Al-Zawahiri says:Any company owner can publish a paid advertisement demanding the cancellation of a law or an administrative decision. Any actor can criticize the laws pertaining to his profession. Any writer--such as Faraj Fawdah (who was killed by Muslim fudamentalists)--can object to and ridicule the shari'ah rulings. Any journalist can lambaste the government and object to its rules, decisions, and laws. The only one who cannot do this is the mosque preacher. This is because article 201 of the penal code says: 'No one in a house of worship--even if he is a man of religion and is delivering a religious sermon--can say something that opposes an administrative decision or an existing law or regulation. Anyone who does this faces imprisonment and is fined 500 pounds. If he resists, the fine and imprisonment are doubled.'

Further, the only people who are not allowed to form trade unions--a right that is guaranteed even to belly dancers in Egypt--are the religious preachers and scholars."

Al-Zawahiri says:With the killing of Anwar al-Sadat the issue of jihad in Egypt and the Arab world exploded and became a daily practice. Confrontation of the regime, which was against the shari'ah and allied with America and Israel, became a battle of continuous chapters that did not stop until today. On the contrary, jihad is increasing day after day, gathering more supporters and increasingly threatening its enemies in Washington and Tel Aviv.

The issues that were triggered by the killing of Al-Sadat and the events that followed became basic issues in the minds of the Muslim youth.

Thus the issues of the supremacy of the shari'ah, the apostasy of the regime from Islam, and the regime's collaboration with America and Israel, became givens. The Muslim youth fought for these issues after Muhammad Abd-al-Salam Faraj and his brothers exploded them. These issues also exploded after after Khalid al-Islambuli said when he was asked why he killed Al-Sadat:because he did not rule in accordance with the shari'ah, because he concluded sulh (conciliation) with peace, and because he insulted the scholars of Islam."

Commenting on the post-Al-Sadat era, Al-Zawahiri says:The animosity to Israel and America in the hearts of Islamists is genuine and indivisible. It is an animosity that has provided theal-Qa'ida" and the epic of jihad in Afghanistan with a continuous flow ofArab Afghans. The killing of Anwar al-Sadat at the hands of Al-Islambuli and his honorable comrades was a strong blow to the US-Israeli plan for the region. He adds:This proves the lies that are reiterated by Arab secularism that several jihad movements, especially those that participated in the Afghan jihad, are the creation of the United States.

One is surprised by the capacity of secular writers to lie. Seeing the overwhelming support in the Muslim world for the Islamic jihad movements, which dealt painful blows to the United States, they invented this lie, forgetting that agent Anwar al-Sadat was killed at the hands of Islamists in 1981,i.e. at the beginning of the Afghan jihad. These muihajidin participated in the Afghan jihad afterward.

The government's response to these events was brutal in its intensity and method."

Al-Zawahiri says:The treadmill of torture and repression turned at full speed, writing a bloody chapter in the history of the modern history of the Islamic movement in Egypt. The brutal treadmill of torture broke bones, stripped out skins, shocked nerves, and killed souls. Its methods were lowly. It detained women, committed sexual assaults, and called men feminine names, starved prisoners, gave them bad food, cut off water, and prevented visits to humiliate the detainees. The treadmill of torture this time was different from previous ones in two ways:

It turned and is still turning non-stop. It has devoured thousands of victims since the killing of Al-Sadat. The shari'ah committee of the Lawyers Association estimated the number of grievances submitted from 1981 to 1991 at 250,000.

One time the government released 5,000 repentant prisoners in a few days. How many are those who have not repented?

In fact, the number of detainees in Egyptian prisons is not less in any case than 60,000. There is no way to contact them or to know their conditions in view of the tight security imposed on them by the government."

Al-Zawahiri says:The State Security Investigation Department (SSID) and Military Intelligence referred the defendants to civil and military prosecutors. The investigations by the prosecutors were another chapter in the farce. The prosecutors were leaking the minutes of the interrogation to the SSID investigators who would ask the defendants about their confessions, beat them, and then dictate to them what they should say.

But the State security prosecutors this time lost their confidence in the regime. They saw with their eyes the intensity of the struggle between the regime and its foes. Therefore, they were eager to ensure that their collusion with the SSID investigators would not include material evidence against them if the situation changed and the regime fell.

The military public prosecutor investigating the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat ignored his responsibility and did not go to the parade stand except one day after the incident, although the incident was within his full jurisdiction. The assassinated person was the supreme commander of the armed forces, the assailants were members of the armed forces, and the incident occurred on military ground. But he waited for the results following the earthquake that struck the regime and paralyzed it.

The military public prosecutor was waiting to see whom he would interrogate, whom he would accuse, and whom he would prosecute.

The funny thing was that Colonel Mushin al-Sarsawi, chief of the detention prison in Turrah at that time (he was an example of those riding the wave and seizing the opportunity) entered the four-floor prison which was full of political detainees and shouted at them: 'O brothers in struggle, O brothers in struggle. President Anwar has been assassinated.

The military prosecutor quickly referred the defendants to military court on the charge of assassinating Anwar al-Sadat. The military court was formed under the presidency of Maj. Gen. Muhammad Samir Fadil.

Another farce of involving the military secularism of the Egyptian Army in repressing its Muslim foes took place after the Egyptian Army forgot about Israel and directed its weapons at its people.

The military trial witnessed repeated confrontations between the Islamic movement and its jihad vanguard with all its good quality, purity and offering and military secularism with all its falsity, hypocrisy, and corruption.

Military secularism always claimed that it respected Islam. But this respect had only one meaning for it, namely, employing religious scholars to pour praise on it to justify its acts. Indeed, the military court based its judgment on a fatwa by Shaykh Jad-al-Haq, the mufti of Egypt and later on the Shaykh of Al-Azhar. It used his fatwa to massacre young Islamists."

Part Five

One of the most important jihad groups uncovered by the security agencies was that of Issam al-Qamari.

The name of Issam al-Qamari deserves a pause. Al-Qamari was a unique individual who has not been given enough credit for his work and his jihad activity because the media and propaganda tools in our countries are in the hands of groups that do not favor the Islamists. Accordingly, the right of publishing is controlled by them, to the exclusion of the Islamists. In doing so, they are following the footsteps of the West, where Jews are in control of the media and the propaganda tools.

Issam al-Qamari was a serious man who, since early in his youth, had taken the issue of Islam seriously. He decided to join the Military College to change the ruling regime in Egypt. That was his conviction as he finished his secondary school education. He once told me, Allah have mercy on him, that he asked his father once after joining the Military College: Do you know why I joined the Military College? His father said no. Al-Qamari said: To carry out a military coup in Egypt. His father was shocked but he could do nothing. Issam had already been admitted to the Military College.

Issam al-Qamari's grades upon graduating from high school qualified him to join such colleges as the College of Medicine, Engineering, etc. It was, and still is, the people's habit to prefer a scientific college to a military college, but Issam defied the prevailing trend for a certain reason.

At the Military College, Issam al-Qamari met Muhammad Mustafa Ulaywah, brother of 'Ulwi Mustafa Ulaywah, one of the activists in the Al-Jihad Group at the time. The two brothers made Al-Qamari join our jihad group. Thus, Issam al-Qamari joined the list of Mujahideen in Egypt. From that moment until his death, Al-Qamari never stopped his fruitful and serious contributions and dedication for the sake of this religion.

He was assisted in this noble endeavor by his refined character and ethics. Issam was a man in the full sense of the word. He was a noble person in the true since of the word. Most of his sufferings and sacrifices that he endured willingly and calmly were the result of his honorable character, nobility, and self-respect.

After graduating from the Military College, Issam al-Qamari joined the Armored Corps, which he loved and in which he excelled. He used to tell us that this Corps must be the Corps of Muslims since it teaches people how to win battles and deter the enemy.

Al-Qamari's outstanding performance in the Armored Corps was noticeable. Issam gave all his time to studying and understanding military affairs and acquiring field experience in practice. For him, this was an endeavor for the sake of Allah . It was not strange, therefore, that Issam excelled in all his training courses and was always the first in his class.

For this reason, when he was a major he was nominated to receive training in the United States to command a battalion. He was promised that upon his return he would be appointed a commander in the Republican Guard, a position that Issam looked forward to with interest.

The only thing that dissuaded him from attending this course was one of brothers, may Allah forgive him, who exaggerated things and told him that 1981 would be the year of change in Egypt. He also told him that he was capable of recruiting a large number of struggling youths in the jihad groups.

Smuggling Weapons From the Army

Based on this exaggerated statement, Issam decided not to travel to the United States. Instead, he was nominated to attend the Staff College. He was one of the few officers in the Armored Corps at the rank of a major who was nominated to attend this college.

Since Issam was convinced that 1981 would be the year of change, he and the fellow officers whom he recruited strove to smuggle as many weapons and ammunition from the army as possible, and we stored these weapons.

During the transfer of the last quantity of weapons from my clinic to the warehouse, and the weapons were in a bag along with books and some military bulletins, the man carrying the bag was arrested. However, he managed to escape without the bag. Through the bulletins that were inside the bag as well as the maps on

which the locations of tanks in Cairo were outlined, it was possible to trace the group of officers working with Issam al-Qamari. Issam sensed the danger before they reached him so he escaped. However, some of his officers were arrested.

Issam remained at large from February to October 1981. He was arrested following the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat. Throughout this time Issam was patient, as was his custom. He did not complain, moan, or blame anybody. Instead, he tried to make it easy for his colleagues, support them, and strengthen their resolve.

Issam did not stop his activity while he was at large. On the contrary, despite his enormous problems, the stress, and the pressure that he lived under every minute, he did not stop working or exerting efforts.

He surveyed a number of targets, sites of troops, and police headquarters. He made plans and conducted several experiments.

When Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated, Issam asked me to connect him to the group that carried out the assassination. I introduced him to Abbud al-Zumur. At this delicate moment, Issam al-Qamari discussed the situation with Abbud and tried to save what could be saved, but it was too late.

Hitting the US Presidents During Al-Sadat's Funeral

Issam thought about attempting to hit the funeral of Anwar al-Sadat, including the (former) Presidents of the United States and the leaders of Israel. He also thought about seizing some tanks and using them to hit a vital target or attack Al-Sadat's funeral. However, the resources available were short of his ambitions and it was too late. Our meetings with Abbud al-Zumur ended with an advice to him to try to leave Egypt at this stage to continue the attacks at another stage. However, Abbud turned down our advice because he had promised the brothers to continue the battle. In prison, he admitted to me that he had been convinced by our opinion, but his promise to the brothers compelled him to turn it down.

Issam had a theory about jihad action that he tried hard to find the means to implement, but destiny would not permit him.

This theory continues to represent a suitable practical option, if the requirements for it are available, including:

- The security measures taken by our regimes are such that the only way to confront them is to deploy an armed force with a considerable firepower and armour enough to enforce its control of the capital, wage battles, and remain steadfast for one or two weeks.

- The Islamic movement possesses thousands of youths who are racing toward martyrdom, but these youths are not trained and lack combat experience.

- The Islamic movement's infiltration of the Army will always be countered by purging operations. It is difficult for the Islamic movement to recruit a large number of officers in the Army without getting discovered, in view of the tight security measures within the ranks of the Armed Forces.

- Issam's idea was to train hundreds of Muslim youths on weapons and how to use and drive tanks, even if it was a preliminary training.

- Issam looked lightly upon the police forces, the Central Security Forces, and the forces affiliated with the Interior Ministry.

- Issam criticized the Muslim youths for being preoccupied by the police and attacks on the police and for failing to examine the military situation from an analytical and practical perspective based on data.

- Issam had much confidence in the young Muslim trainees. He used to say:"The police forces have the upper hand against us because our brothers are not trained. If we train them and give them some weapons, nobody could stand against them."

This theory continued to be the subject of long discussions between us before and in prison. Many of his expectations proved to be valid, I must say.

His plan was a daring plan based on careful reconnaissance and scientific analysis of the realistic information. It suited Issam's personality, which had the same elements: Bravery, military knowledge, and hard work. This theory involved many details and various aspects, but I just talked about its pivotal idea in passing.

Al-Jammaliyah Battle

Abbud (Al-Zumur) ended up in Jail. By torturing his companions, the investigators learned that he had met Issam al-Qamari and me. It was a big surprise: The fugitive officer who has been at large for eight months surfaced again. After intensive pursuits, I was arrested. An attack was conducted on the hideout of Issam al-Qamari, at the Cairo neighbourhood of Al-Jammaliyah, where an interesting battle took place.

This battle occupied an important place in the history of the movement because of the serious facts that it demonstrated about the confrontation between the Islamists and government troops. It also proved the validity of Issam's theory and his farsightedness. We must pause here a little to explain the details of this battle.

This battle took place in the Manshiyat Nasir area in the Al-Jammaliyah neighbourhood. It is a poor area where poor homes are stacked next to each other, divided by narrow alleys and paths. Issam was hiding in a turner's workshop built by Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, along with Ibrahim Salamah Iskandarani and Nabil Na'im, to serve as one of our bases. Al-Sharqawi received a 7-year prison sentenced in connection with Al-Sadat's case then a 15-year term in the case of Tala'i Al-Fath. He is still at the Al-Aqrab Prison in Egypt. This workshop was in a modest house consisting of a roofless hallway, with two rooms on the right and two rooms on the left and an iron door at the beginning of the hallway.

The workshop was located in a narrow alley with a dead end and surrounded by several houses, many of them one-storied.

When the Interior Ministry learned that Issam was hiding in this workshop it surrounded the entire area with police and the Central Security Forces. It used the counterterrorism battalion in the Central Security Forces, the best unit available, to attack the workshop. The battalion surrounded the workshop for several hours and occupied the roofs of nearby buildings, where they mounted their machine guns.

Before dawn, the police called our brothers through loudspeakers and told them that the workshop was under siege and that they ought to surrender. Immediately after that, the break-in unit, which is made up of the best Central Security officers wearing shields, began the attack by spraying the door with an endless hail of bullets and shouting to the brothers to surrender. The brothers were awakened by this frightening noise.

Issam and his companions were prepared for this eventuality. They had an electric wire fastened a few centimetres away from the iron door. They had two old short machine guns, two revolvers, and a number of hand grenades in their possession.

When the break-in troops tried to storm their way into the gate they were jolted, and they immediately retreated in shock. Issam seized the opportunity and hurled a hand grenade over the door. It landed in the middle of the break-in team, killing or wounding the team members. The battalion officers and soldiers panicked when they heard the screams of the break-in team. There was complete silence in the air. Issam and his companions climbed to the roof of the workshop and started hailing the neighbouring rooftops with bullets from their two machine guns, which soon stopped working. But Issam and his companions did not stop. They rained the force with 10 hand grenades, nine of which exploded. The resistance by the force stopped, and here Issam realized that it had been weakened. The brothers emerged from the workshop. They found a soldier in front of them pointing his weapon at them. However, he turned his back on them. Brother Nabil Na'im shot him in the head.

Issam asked them to sit still and wait for him to throw a hand grenade then start running in the direction of the grenade. The brothers started running through the cordons of the siege. It was as if they were running amidst dead people and ghosts. They continued to run until they reached the neighbouring hills of Al-Muqattam. From a distance, they sat down to watch the badly hurt troops as they gathered their wounded men and moved back to their vehicles. Ibrahim Salamah suggested that this was the best opportunity to attack the battalion with what was left with the brothers in terms of ammunition, but Issam decided it was enough.

The brothers continued to walk on the hills of Al-Muqattam. Ibrahim Salamah had a hand grenade in his hand. He had removed the pin from it then returned it again. However, it seemed that the pin shifted out of place when he was running. The brothers stopped for a while near one of the caves.

Ibrahim Salamah wanted to urinate. He turned around and faced the entrance of the cave. Issam and Nabil sat a few meters away from him with their backs to Ibrahim. The grenade dropped on the floor, causing the pin to shift a little. The brothers heard the capsule exploding. Ibrahim immediately threw himself on the bomb to protect his brothers. The silence of the night was broken by the explosion of the bomb, which ripped Ibrahim apart. He took the full power of the explosion.

It was an act of destiny that was beyond any expectation. After escaping safely from over a 100-man force from the Central Security Forces, Ibrahim met his fate. Issam and Nabil were astonished by the gravity of the surprise.

Issam was arrested and put on trial in the Al-Jihad case. The prosecutors, colluding with the intelligence department, did not take him to attend the first session of the trial. They brought him along with Rifa'I Taha (military official of the Islamic Group whom Damascus handed over to Egypt a few months ago) on the second session from their place of detention in Al-Qal'ah Prison.

Issam exposed this trick at the trial and insisted on explaining the harassment against him by the intelligence officers at the Al-Qal'ah Prison.

The judge tried to let it pass, but Issam insisted on continuing to talk. The judge threatened to kick Issam out of the courtroom, but Issam did not care. The judge ordered him out of the courtroom, but Issam refused. The Central Security Forces tried to carefully come closer to Issam, but he shouted at them. They were scared and retreated.

Things went out of hand in the courtroom. The brother defendants were furious. As agreed with the brothers, I was in charge of things at the session. I asked the brothers to be quiet. I spoke in a loud voice and threatened that if Issam was kicked out of the courtroom by force--he was kept in a separate cage and isolated from the brother defendants--there would not be any trial. The atmosphere in the courtroom became tense. The judge realized that he was running an unprecedented case and that he risked a confrontation with the defendants. At this point the lawyers intervened to save the situation. They apologized to the judge, amidst the deafening noise and shouts, so nobody really heard what they said. The judge seized the opportunity and said that the court had accepted the lawyers' apology. The trial was resumed.

The Escape Plan From Turah Prison, the Cordons of Guards, and Crossing the River Nile

Throughout the prison period, Issam did not stop learning or teaching and educating members of the Al-Jihad group. All that he was thinking about was how to rescue the brothers, who were expected to receive the death penalty.

Allah Almighty willed that I had the honor of accompanying him for several months in the same cell in Turah Prison. Throughout that time he spent all his time thinking of scenarios about the future, finding practical solutions, and doing research into existing problems. We had to part. I was given a 3-year prison term, most of which I spent in prison before the verdict was issued. He received a 10-year prison term. As usual, he received the news with his unique calmness and self-composure. He even tried to comfort me and said: I pity you for the burdens that you will have to carry.

Issam remained in prison, and he continued to think of plans to escape. After several attempts, Issam, along with Khamis Musallam and Muhammad al-Aswani, managed to escape from the formidable Turah Prison on 17 July 1988. It was not an ordinary escape. It was preceded by long and complicated planning that was ultimately crowned with success. The escape involved a battle to cross the prison walls and go through the lines of guards watching the walls. It also involved crossing over to the other side of the Nile.

Without getting into details, the Interior Ministry was dumbfounded. It did not expect such a daring and noisy escape, which started with removing the bars of the cells, taking the warden guards prisoner, crossing the 4-meter high fence after throwing sound bombs, clashing with one of the guards and taking his weapon, and leaving the Turah Prison compound at midnight amidst the tight security.

After the escape of Issam al-Qamari and his colleagues from prison, they crossed the Nile to the other side and walked in the fields until they reached the central Delta.

Because they walked for such a long distance, Khamis Musallam's feet were injured and started to suppurate. He developed a fever and started to shiver. In an attempt to treat Khamis, the brothers resorted to Khalid Bakhit, a member of the Al-Jihad Group, who gave them his house in the Al-Sharrabiyah.

As destiny would have it, a State Security Intelligence force came to the house of Khalid Bakhit early in the morning on 25 July 1988. It was part of the sweeping campaign of arrests that followed the escape of the three brothers.

Another courageous battle took place. As soon as the force commander, a Colonel in the State Security Intelligence Department, knocked on the door, he came under a hail of sound bombs that the brothers had prepared. Issam al-Qamari attacked him with a kitchen knife. The officer escaped, leaving his pistol behind. The other soldiers and officers retreated in fear. Issam picked up the pistol of the force commander and the brothers started running down to the street.

At the corner of the street, Issam al-Qamari engaged in a battle with the police force to cover his brothers' escape. He was hit in the stomach, and he fell. His companions returned to carry him, but he declined and gave them the pistol he had. He ordered them to continue to run away. He died on the spot.

This story, told by Nabil Na'im (a Islamist leader who is in prison in Egypt in connection with the Tala'i al-Fath al-Islami case) demonstrates the frustration of the Interior Minister. Na'im told me that he had asked the officer at the Turah Prison jokingly after the escape: Naturally, they will send you to Upper Egypt, right? The officer answered confidently: No; they will not do that. They should give me a medal for keeping Issam al-Qamari in prison all these years. As it turned out, the officer was not removed from his post!

Part Six

We could trace the start of the operations in Egypt as far back as Friday 12 August 1988, when the government carried out an aggression against the Ayn Shams neighbourhood in Cairo. After the sunset prayers, police troops stormed Adam Mosque, where the Islamic Group held its weekly seminar. It is worth noting that the police troops had raided the Adam Mosque several times before. Raiding mosques became a habit of the police forces, which destroyed everything inside them, tore down books, and fired tear gas and bullets indiscriminately.

Continuing, Al-Zawahiri adds: The repeated aggressions against mosques until this very day will not pass unpunished, Allah willing. These crimes are the responsibility of the Interior Ministry and the US administration. These crimes are committed with the consent and before the eyes of this administration and in implementation of its policy of suppressing the Islamic resistance in favor of the Israeli expansion in the region.

The raid started with breaking the mosque's windows and firing tear gas and throwing incendiary bombs inside the mosque to force the people to leave. When the worshippers started to leave, the police forces stormed the mosque and opened fire indiscriminately.

This crime was enough to provoke the neighbourhood residents, who spontaneously sided with the Islamic Group. As a result, the scope of disturbances expanded to include the entire area.

The Interior Ministry went mad and gave orders to open fire. Children, women, elderly, and youngsters fell victim. The streets and homes were full of wounded and dead people swimming in blood. Police trucks were full of detainees. It was natural for the people to respond. Two officers and four soldiers were wounded. Officer Muhammad Zakariya later died from wounds that he had sustained in the head.

Naturally, the Interior Ministry enforced a curfew in all streets in the area and sent large number of troops to the neighbourhood .

The leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Group adds that the second campaign against Ayn Shams neighbourhood took place on Wednesday 7 December 1988, when Interior Ministry Zaki Badr received news about a peaceful march that the Islamic Group had intended to make toward the Al-Qubbah Presidential Palace to voice their support for the intifadah in occupied Palestine. The police would not allow the Islamic Group to express its opinion in the street through a demonstration, no matter what the reason for the demonstration was.

The police raided Adam Mosque before the dawn prayers and arrested those inside the mosque. It conducted a large-scale arrest campaign against all members of the Islamic Group in Ayn Sham, Al-Matariyah, Alf Maskan, and Masakin Ayn Shams. More than 180 persons were arrested.

The government newspapers published a statement by the Interior Ministry admitting the campaign in Ayn Shams and the detention of dozens of Islamic Group members. The statement claimed that leaflets and weapons had been seized with some of the detainees. The statement also admitted that the police forces had shut down Adam Mosque. The statement added that more combing operations would be conducted in search of the wanted Islamic Group members. The statement, however, failed to mention the detention of the mothers, wives, children, and relatives of the fugitive members as hostages to force them to give themselves up. It also failed to mention the brutal torture against the detainees to force them to identify the locations of their relatives.

The Killing of Lieutenant Colonel Issam Shams, Deputy Chief of the Intelligence Unit

Al-Zawahiri recalls the killing of Lt. Col. Issam Shams, Deputy Chief of Eastern Cairo Intelligence Unit. He adds: In a rapid development, a peddler at Ayn Shams marketplace stabbed police officer Lt. Col. Issam Shams, who died of his wounds. The peddler escaped. The investigations identified him as Sharif Muhammad Ahmad. He had been badly beaten several times by intelligence officers and arrested as part of the aforesaid August events, when he was tortured at Ayn Shams police station.

The events ended with a bizarre theatrical performance in which Sharif Muhammad Ahmad, Khalid Isma'il, and Ashraf Darwish were shot dead. A statement by the Interior Ministry claimed that the three had resisted the police forces that tried to arrest them for three hours in a street in Shubra, although not a single officer or soldier was hurt. The statement also claimed that weapons had been found next to the bodies of the three people. A

leading figure of the Islamic Group in the area, called Jabir Muhammad Ahmad, was also killed and the police claimed that he had resisted the authorities and tried to kill an officer. The forces had to shoot him.

Following this incident, a curfew was imposed in the area and a massive campaign of arrests was conducted against suspects. One of the reasons behind this incident was the role of the aforesaid officer in the barbaric torture of detainees at Ayn Shams Police Station.

Al-Zawahiri claims that Zaki Badr, who was Interior Minister at the time, ordered the arrest of 30 of the mothers, wives, and sisters of the fugitive leaders of the Islamic Group. After being brutally tortured at Ayn Shams Police Station, they were transferred to the State Security Intelligence Department in Lazughli, where they were stripped of their cloths, slapped, kicked, and insulted.

Al-Zawahiri adds that the Ayn Shams incidents represented a flagrant aggression against the Islamic Group and the entire inhabitants of the area. The purpose was clear; namely, to destroy the peaceful call activity undertaken by the Islamic Group in the area, which gained the support of the people, who were satisfied with the social and call activity carried out by the group members. But the government, which adopted a policy of killing members of the Islamic Group and banning all their activities, would not allow this to continue. It was in implementation of the policy declared by Zaki Badr; namely, to hit hard where it hurts.

An Ambush Against the Interior Minister's Convoy

Continuing his memoirs, Al-Zawahiri adds: The Islamist movement decided to respond to the Ayn Shams incidents. The answer was to ambush Interior Minister Zaki Badr's motorcade using a booby-trapped car in December 1989. However, the ambush failed when the explosives in the car malfunctioned and its driver was arrested.

The Killing of Ala Muhiy-Al-Din in the Street

The Interior Ministry responded to us by killing Dr. Ala Muhiy-al-Din in broad daylight in the street on 2 September 1990. Muhiy-al-Din, may Allah bless his soul, was one of the leaders of the Islamic Group who advocated the dialogue with the government. He made this position known on several occasions. He raised the slogan of free dialogue, a policy that proved to be a total failure with our rulers.

Muhiy-al-Din's killing was a clear signal to the Islamic Group that the call for dialogue will be punished by death and that the regime will not tolerate the existence of the jihad groups. In doing so, the regime was doing the logical thing. The jihad groups represented the most serious opposition to it. They were the most capable of recruiting and spreading among the Muslim youths. These groups also represented a serious threat to the policy of normalization with Israel, which will not feel comfortable in Egypt so long as the threat of the Islamic groups existed. The Islamic Group responded to the killing of Ala Muhiy-al-Din by ambushing Interior Minister Abd-al-Halim Musa, but Allah willed that People's Assembly Speaker Rif'at al-Mahjub's motorcade happened to pass by the ambush, and he was killed.

Thus, the Islamic Group shifted its policy from long-term call activity to violence by fighting and resisting the government's aggression.

Al-Zawahiri adds: In the early 90s another important development took place. A large number of our brothers in the Al-Jihad Group were arrested. More than 800 of them were put on trial in what came to be known as the Tala'i Al-Fath cases. The court sentenced to death four of the defendants.

The government newspapers were elated about the arrest of 800 members of the Al-Jihad Group without a single shot being fired. We decided to enter the battle of confrontation with the government, although our policy has always been to spread out and recruit elements in preparation for the battle of change.

Al-Zawahiri adds: Our response was to attack the convoy of Interior Minister Hasan al-Alfi with a booby-trapped motorcycle. The Minister escaped death, but his arm was broken. A pile of files that he kept next to him saved his life from the shrapnel. This was followed by an attack carried out by the Islamic Group against Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif, who survived the ambush.

This coincided with the Islamic Group's attack on the Commander of the Central Military Zone in his capacity as the commander who sanctioned all the verdicts issued by military courts. The attack failed because his car was bullet-proof.

The leader of Al-Jihad Group then talks about the death of innocent child Shayma. He expresses regret for her death and his willingness to pay blood money, adding that the girl was as old as his own daughter. He added: Our brothers in the Al-Jihad Group carried out the attack on the motorcade of Prime Minister Atif Sidqi using a booby-trapped car, but the Prime Minister survived the attack. His car escaped the full power of the explosion by a split second, although some shrapnel hit it.

As a result of the attack, a child named Shayma was killed. She was a student in a nearby school who was standing near the site of the incident.

The government used the death of Shayma, may Allah bless her soul, and portrayed the incident as an attack by the Al-Jihad Group against Shayma, not against Prime Minister Sidqi.

Our brothers who carried out the attack had surveyed the area and noticed that there was a school under construction. They thought the school had no students in it. It transpired later that only the external part of the school was being renovated but the rest of the school was operating normally.

The unintended death of this innocent child pained us all, but we were helpless and we had to fight the government, which was against Allah 's Shari'ah and supported Allah 's enemies.

We had warned the people several times before that, particularly following the attack on Interior Minister Hasan al-Alfi, to stay away from the pillars of the regime, their homes, and the routes they used. In their homes, offices, and motorcades, these officials are mixed with the public and they take cover behind them. So we have no choice but to hit them while cautioning the general public.

Our colleague Al-Sayyid Salah summed this up by saying, when asked by investigators about the death of Shayma, that he regretted the killing of this child, but the jihad must not stop.

I explained this matter in detail in my letter entitled Shifa Sudur al-Muslimin (Cure for The Muslims; Heart)."

As regards the consequences resulting from the intentional harm done to Muslims, we have opted for the opinion of Imam al-Shafi'i, may Allah have mercy on him, who called for paying blood money to the relatives of those killed.

Therefore, we believe that those who kill Muslims unintentionally in such operations must pay blood money to their relatives.

If we want to put the issue of Shayma in perspective we must weigh her on one scale of the balance and put on the other scale our daughters and women who have lost their fathers and husbands for no reason other than that their fathers and husbands were performing the most honourable duty, the duty of jihad for the sake of Allah .

The regime dragged me, along with 280 others, to trial and the prosecution demanded the death sentence against us all. This meant that they wanted my daughter, who was two at the time, and the daughters of other colleagues, to be orphans. Who cried or cared for our daughters?

Al-Zawahiri claims that the police raided the home of Sayyid Qurani. When his daughter ran away in fear from the bullets, the police shot her dead immediately. Who shed tears for the daughter of Sayyid Qurani?

There are thousands of our women, sisters, and mothers who are standing at the doors of prisons in the hope of visiting their sons, brothers, and husbands. Who took interest in their tragedy?

Al-Zawahiri adds: The arm of Sana Abd-al-Rahman was broken when the police beat her brutally along with her 3-year daughter Khadijah in front of the Turah Prison. The mothers waiting in front of prison started to cry when one of the detainees told them, as he emerged from prison on his way to the court, that the detainees were dying. He added: Do anything. Go to the Prosecutor General. The Al-Sha'b newspaper published the photo of Sana with her arm in the cast and her daughter next to her.

Who is banning the hijab (veil) at schools and the niqab (face cover) at universities in order to fight the values of Islam and to force our daughters to emulate the west and its immorality?

Our colleagues in the Al-Jihad Group set up an ambush for Husni Mubarak's motorcade along the Salah Salim road, but he did not use that road on his way to perform the Eid prayers, so we failed.

There was another attempt to assassinate Husni Mubarak at Sidi Barrani Airport by members of the Islamic Group, but the attempt was discovered before implementation.

As regards the most important operations carried out by Islamists from the Islamic Group, Al-Zawahiri mentioned the killing of Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayrat on 9 April 1994. He added: Ra'uf Khayrat was one of the most dangerous officers in the State Security Intelligence Department who fought the Islamists. He adopted several strict security precautions, such as changing his residence every few months, keeping his home unguarded, and driving his car personally to look like he was an ordinary person with no connection to the authority. However, the Islamic Group colleagues managed to reach him. As he was emerging from his home and about to get into his car, one of the brother Mujahideen approached him and threw a bomb inside his car, and he was killed instantly.

The Islamic Group escalated the campaign and attacked the convoy of Husni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in the summer of 1995. The attack failed and Mubarak survived because one of the two cars that participated in the attack broke down.

Our colleagues in the Al-Jihad Group planned two operations at almost the same time. The first was the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad in the autumn of 1995, and we talked about it in this book. The other operation was at home against Israeli tourists. It was known as the Khan al-Khalili case.

In July 1997 the Islamic Group inside prison announced its initiative to suspend violence unilaterally.

However, following this initiative a team from the Islamic Group carried out the Luxor operation against western tourists.

The above was a brief and quick summary of the most important acts of jihad between 1988 and 1997. Many details were skipped.

Breaking the Will of the Islamic Movement

Since the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat, the campaign of repression aimed to break the will of the Islamist movement, particularly the Islamist groups. This policy took a serious escalatory turn when Zaki Badr took over the Interior Ministry. He declared that the remedy for the Islamic groups is to hit them deep in the heart.

It was clear that the purpose of the campaign was to instill despair in the hearts of the Muslim youths, lead them to believe that any resistance is futile and will only lead to disasters and calamities, and that surrender was the only choice.

Failure to respond to this campaign would have certainly led the Islamic movement to lose its self-confidence, retreat into silence and oblivion, and return to the terror of the Nasirite era. Driving people to despair of the worthiness of resistance has been the cornerstone of the policy of Jewish expansion in the region. Therefore, they realized that suppressing the resistance against them would not succeed unless they instilled despair in the hearts of the Muslims.

Al-Zawahiri notes that the response to this brutal campaign through jihad operation will not only protect the Muslim youths from despair but also fill their hearts with hope and self-confidence, after their trust in Allah Almighty.

The Muslim youths demonstrated that undermining the government and its henchmen was not difficult.

The fruits of the jihad resistance go beyond inspiring hope in the hearts of the Muslim youths. The resistance is a weapon directed against the regime's henchmen, who are demoralized as they see their colleagues falling around them. Furthermore, stepping up the jihad action to harm the US and Jewish interests creates a sense of

resistance among the people, who consider the Jews and Americans a horrible symbol of arrogance and tyranny.

Because of all this, there was no other choice but to continue the resistance. Any analyst could realize the extent of the disasters that could have taken place had Anwar al-Sadat not been killed and had the resistance against the Egyptian Government stopped.

An analysis of the political situation in Egypt would reveal that Egypt is struggling between two powers: An official power and a popular power that has its roots deeply established in the ground, which is the Islamic movement in general and the solid jihad nucleus in particular.

The first power is supported by the United States, the west, Israel, and most of the Arab rulers. The second power depends on Allah alone then on its wide popularity and alliance with other jihad movements throughout the Islamic nation, from Chechnya in the north to Somalia in the south and from Eastern Turkestan in the east to Morocco in the west.

Al-Zawahiri adds that the reason for the enmity between the two forces is very clear. The first power insists on:

1. Removing Islam from power and keeping it away from the various aspects of life by force, brutality, and rigged elections.

2. Opening up the country to the enemies of Islam, the Americans and the Jews, through signing peace agreements and treaties that ban weapons of mass destruction for us only, disarming Sinai, and allowing direct US occupation of our land and holding joint military exercises.

It is a battle of ideologies, a struggle for survival, and a war with no truce.

After this brief and quick review of the history of the Islamic movement in Egypt we could pause here to examine the harvest of this recent past and era, which continued from 1966 until approximately 2000.

To answer this question, we could say that the harvest of this era could be summed up as follows:

1. **Spreading:** There is no doubt that the struggling Islamic movement has gained much ground during that period, particularly among the youths, and that it continues to grow and spread.

2. **Collision:** The Islamic movement has been on the offensive against the enemies of Islam. It demonstrated a sense of resistance until the last breath. The major events beginning with the incident at the Technical Military College in 1974 up to the Luxor incident in 1997 provide the best proof of this.

3. **Continued dedication:** The Islamic movement has offered tens of thousands of detainees and wounded and tortured people and thousands dead in its continuing struggle. This proved two things:

   First; that its roots are strong and deeply established in the ground. Despite all these strikes and sacrifices, which no other political force in Egypt could have endured, this Mujahid Islamic movement continues to operate for the sake of Allah .

   Second: It continues to pose the main threat to the government's security. Proof of this is the continued existence of the emergency laws, military tribunals, and antiterrorism laws, which are not expected to be terminated anytime in the near future. Add to this the prisons that are full of approximately 60,000 Muslim youths, some of them have been there for almost 12 years without being charged.

4. **The international alliance and international pursuit:** The regime had no choice but to turn the battle against the mujahid Islamic movement into an international battle, particularly when the United States became convinced that the regime could not survive alone in the face of this Islamist campaign. It was also convinced that this spirit of jihad would most likely turn things upside down in the region and force the United States out of it. This would be followed by the earth-shattering event, which the west trembles at the mere thought of it, which is the establishment of an Islamic caliphate in Egypt. If Allah wills it, such a state in Egypt, with all its weight in the heart of the Islamic world, could lead the Islamic world in a jihad against the West. It could also rally the world Muslims around it. Then history would make a new turn, Allah willing, in the opposite direction against the empire of the United States and the world's Jewish government.

5. **The continuation of the battle:** Any observer of the progress of the Islamic movement will realize that its battle with the regime continues to this very day. The battle has not stopped in the past 36 years. The Islamist movement is either on the attack or in the process of preparing for an attack.

    a) The regime and its media try in vain to convince the people at home and abroad that the battle is over, despite the continuation of the emergency law and the costly security budgets. All these signs indicate that the regime is still in a state of panic, anticipation, and extreme caution because of the continuing battle and that the situation could explode at any minute. The regime is certain that the international movement produces new generations that the security agencies will not be able to eliminate.

    b) Al-Zawahiri claims that so far Husni Mubarak's government has replaced six Interior Ministers. Each one of them claimed that he would eliminate "terrorism", only to find himself ousted and replaced by another person who repeats the same statements.

6. **A clear thought and ideology**: The Islamic movement has largely succeeded in clarifying the main elements of its ideology, relying on strong evidence from the Koran, the prophet's tradition, and the respected scholars. This provided it with a solid base on which it hoisted its banner, which everyday attracts new advocates, Allah willing.

7. **Weakness of planning and preparations for the jihad actions:** We must admit that good planning and preparations have been missing in many of the acts of violence, beginning with the Technical Military College's incident and up to the events in Asyut. Shortcomings in planning were evident. If the planning in the killing of Anwar al-Sadat, the escape of Issam al-Qamari, the assassination of Rif'at al-Mahjub, and the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad proved to be good, the Islamist movement must rid itself of the haphazardness and rashness that continue to dominate many of its actions.

8. **The weakness of the message to the people:** The Islamist movement's message continues to be mostly geared toward the elite and the specialists. The public and the masses do not understand this message. This is a gap that the jihad movement must strive to fill earnestly, as we will explain later. If we add to the foregoing the media siege imposed on the message of the jihad movement as well as the campaign of deception mounted by the government media we should realize the extent of the gap in understanding between the jihad movement and the common people.

9. **Failure of some leaders to continue the confrontation:** The best proof of this is the initiative made by the Islamic Group leaders in the Turah Prison to suspend military action. We will talk about this in detains, Allah willing.

10. **Conclusion:** Has the jihad movement failed or succeeded in the past 36 years? The answer is:

    a) We must admit that the Islamist movement's goal of establishing an Islamic government in Egypt is yet to be achieved.

    b) The jihad Islamic movement, however, has not set a specific date for achieving this goal. More importantly, this is a goal that could take several generations to achieve. The Crusaders in Palestine and Syria left after two centuries of continued jihad. The Islamic nation at the time had jihad rulers and regular and disciplined armies. It was led by prominent scholars, such as Al-Izz Bin-Abd-al-Salam, Al, Nawawi, and Ibn-Taymiyah, Allah have mercy on their souls. Despite this, the Crusaders did not leave in 30 or 50 years. The British occupied Egypt for 70 years. The French occupied Algeria for 120 years.

    c) What I see clearly is that the jihad Islamic movement has gone a long way on the road to victory.

        I. It possesses a clear-cut ideology based on firm Shari'ah foundations and tangible and realistic facts.

        II. It has succeeded in outlining to the youths issues that were absent from the minds of the Muslim masses, such as the supremacy of the Shari'ah, the apostasy of the rulers who do not rule according to Allah 's words, and the necessity of going against rulers who are affiliated with the enemies of Islam.

III. The jihad movement has exposed the close links between the international regime and the Egyptian regime.

IV. The jihad movement has not confined itself to a theoretical debate of these issues. It has put them to practice with an offensive that has shaken the pillars of the regime several times. It also succeeded in assassinating the former President.

V. Based on the above, the jihad movement has strongly influenced the Muslim youth in theory and practice. This has led to the spread of the Islamist spirit among large segments of the Egyptian youths. In addition, the Islamist movement has influenced broad sectors of the Egyptian people. For instance, one of the defendants in the Al-Sadat assassination case told me that one of the lawyers had approached the defendants on trial and asked them enthusiastically and in astonishment: Who are you and where did you come from? By killing Al-Sadat, the Egyptian people have revived hope in the hearts of the nation. Any observer of the jihad Islamic movement could see the clear difference in the strength, clarity of ideology, and activity at the time it started and at the present time.

VI. Thus, we could affirm that the jihad movement is growing and making progress in general. It may retreat or relax for a while, but this happens because of the campaigns of brutality or during the periods of siege.

Therefore, the jihad Islamic movement must not stop the resistance and must get the entire nation to participate with it in its battle.

Part Seven

In the seventh episode of his memoirs that some people have described as his last will, which Al-Sharq al-Awsat publishes today, Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization and al-Qa'ida leader Usama Bin Laden's primary ally, discusses the causes of the deep-rooted hatred that Islamists feel for the United States.

In his bookKnights Under the Prophet's Banner," Al-Zawahiri says that when the second Gulf war occurred, the US military arsenal with its fleets and strike forces moved to the region to oversee the management of its interests by itself. Hence, it transformed its role of hidden mover of events into the role of the Muslims' direct opponent.

He says:The United States denigrated the Islamic shari'ah and insulted the Muslims when the Princedom of Afghanistan, in the words of the mujahid Mullah Muhammad Omar, called on it to present evidence to an Islamic shari'ah court of Bin Laden's involvement in the “terrorist” acts." He adds that the US refusal to negotiate with Mullah Omar constituted a clear insult."

Al-Zawahiri notes that the United States knows in advance what the consequence of its invasion of Afghanistan will be, judging by the lessons of history."

About himself, Al-Zawahiri says:If I die in the battle to defend Islam, my son will rise to avenge me."

In the book Al-Zawahiri attributes the US interest in invading Afghanistan to the huge quantities of petroleum under the Caspian Sea. He also refers to the US fears that an Islamist belt" would be formed and that Pakistan, which is brimming with Islamist Jihadi streams", might be at one end of this belt.

He declares that the United States elected to begin by crushing the Chechens by providing the Russian Army with Western aid so that when this campaign ended, it would turn its eyes south to Afghanistan."

He points out that the Caucasus and Afghanistan will remain the only Islamist hotbeds against the United States."

Commenting on the joint military exercises that the United States conducts with Arab armies, Al-Zawahiri says that they are basically designed to prevent the Islamists from seizing power in the Arab countries. Al-Zawahiri maintains that permitting the Islamist movement any degree of freedom will shake the foundations of government in many countries."

He adds: We have decided that in order to examine the condition of the Jihadi movement in Egypt, it is necessary at first to cast a broader look at the heart of the Islamic world. Hence we will divide the discussion in this section of the book into two parts: The First Part is about the enemies of Islam. The second part discusses the Islamist streams.

(He adds:) Several indications are prominent in the US policy towards Islam, notably its basic role in establishing and aiding Israel. Except for Israel, which is in fact a huge US military base, the United States did not resort in the past to conspicuous and intensive military presence to run its affairs in the Middle East until the second Gulf war erupted. When that happened, the United States rushed to the region with its fleets, its land troops, and air power to manage its own affairs with its own hands under the shadow of its own guns.

With this conspicuous US military presence, several new facts emerged including, first of all, the transformation of the United States from a mover of events from behind a veil to a direct opponent in its battle against the Muslims. Formerly, in both the Arab-Israeli conflict and in managing the internal affairs of other countries, the US administration used to portray itself as an impartial party, or at least as an indirect opponent that merely--as the US alleges-furthers the values of democracy, liberty, and Western interests. Now, however, the role of US power has become clear in attacking Iraq, defending the oil resources, and managing security affairs in some Arab countries.

Al-Zawahiri claims that there is a US intelligence bureau inside the headquarters of the Egyptian State Security Investigation Department that receives daily reports on the number of detainees and those detainees that are released.

Al-Zawahiri further claims in his book that there are US military bases at an airport to the west of Cairo, in Wadi Qina, and in the Ra's Binas Naval base.

The Goals of the US Joint Military Exercises

Al-Zawahiri says: If you add to the foregoing the joint military exercises such as the Bright Star manoeuvres in which the United States and its allies train in ways of invading Egypt's western coast to reach Cairo and attack any Islamist regime that assumes power there, then you would understand how prominent this direct role is. In the latest manoeuvres, called Bright Star 99", nine countries participated in addition to the United States, Egypt, and observers from 33 countries. A total of 73,000 soldiers, 210 combat aircraft, 55 warships, and the aircraft carrier Kennedy, with its full naval and aircraft complement, took part in those exercises. This exercise was described as the largest military manoeuvre in the world and, according to the commander of the French forces General Harve,the most important multinational manoeuvre in the world."

The aim of the manoeuvres, as we noted earlier, was a practice run in landing invading forces on Egypt's western coast and then marching southeast towards Cairo, namely, the same route followed by Napoleon Bonaparte during his Egyptian campaign.

In the book Al-Zawahiri claims that the Egyptian forces are not training at this time to repel a likely attack by the Israeli enemy on the Egyptian border as much as they are training to liberate their capital from a likely seizure by a Islamist regime. He adds that this behaviour is an exact repetition of Khedive Tawfiq's behaviour towards the British when they invaded Egypt. In other words, the enemy of the Egyptian regime is no longer the country's traditional enemy, Israel, on Egypt's eastern border but the Islamists in Cairo.

Al-Zawahiri adds that the Americans limited themselves to this level of conspicuous presence and left the remainder of the task of defending their interests to the Egyptian Government. However, if the Americans feel that they need to undertake direct responsibility for those tasks versus the Islamists, then they will not hesitate to do so, as we saw during this latter stage of the Afghan conflict.

Al-Zawahiri alleges in his memoirs that the Americans' departure from the role of covert mover of events to assume a direct role in defending their interests has two reasons. The first is the inability-in the US view--of the agents to defend US interests or even to put down the Islamist resistance. The second reason is the escalation of events in the region to a degree that has made the United States exercise pressure by itself, using its own troops, weapons, and security agencies.

The Growth of the Islamic Movement

The Islamist movement has grown to such a degree and the resistance to the Zionist presence and to the policies of capitulation to the Zionist enemy has become so strong that the United States has not only decided that its agents are unable to confront their opponent but that this opponent has become so strong that it is necessary to confront this opponent with direct US military power that is present on the battlefront.

This conspicuous US military presence represents an additional step along the path of the policy of (repression by force) that the United States has chosen to pursue in this region. As we noted earlier, the United States has realized that it is impossible to persuade the Muslim nation to accept Israel's existence and its expansionist efforts to establish a Greater Israel and that it is also impossible to continue to rob the Muslims' resources and persuade the Muslims to abandon their demand for a government in accordance with Islamic shari'ah.

The United States, and the global Jewish government that is behind it, have realized that (government by) Islam is the popular demand of the nations of this region, which is considered the heart of the Islamic world. They have realized that it is impossible to compromise on these issues. Hence the United States has decided to dictate its wishes by force, repression, forgery, and misinformation. Finally it has added direct military intervention to all the foregoing methods.

This policy, no matter how long its persists, is a short-term policy that will necessarily provoke repeated eruptions. However, what other alternative do the United States and Israel have? Allowing the Islamist movement any degree of freedom will shake the pillars of the pro-US regimes. Hence, a decision has been made to resort to the (repression by force) policy in order to close off the volcanic crater in the hope that the imposition of a fait accompli will cause a psychological change among the region's populations and that new generations will grow up who will forget their religious creed, which has been excluded from power, and their

rights, which have been usurped. Furthermore the policy of dictating a fait accompli by force seeks to create new conditions in Muslim lands that it will be very difficult for any Islamist movement seeking to assume power to change except by a monumental effort, particularly in the early days of such a movement's rule. This provides a future guarantee for Israel's security

Nevertheless, history gives the lie to all such plans, for the Crusaders stayed in Greater Syria for 200 years but then had to leave even though they were a model of a settler occupation just like Israel today. Likewise communism was consigned to history and pursued by curses after 70 years of oppression, obliteration of identity, and population transfers.

It is when one thinks of these points that the importance of continuing the resistance emerges, together with refusing to back down in the face of the US-Zionist schemes to prevent it from achieving its aims and to keep the cause of Islam alive in the hearts of the nation's sons.

The persistence of the resistance will keep the volcano in a state of continual eruption and ready to blow up at the least provocation. The persistence of the resistance will transfer the popular wrath from one generation to another and keep the desire for revenge alive in the people's souls. In contrast, the spread of the concepts of conciliation, acquiescence, and acceptance of the facts will make our generation leave a legacy of despair and a willingness to surrender to the next generation.

The Global Pursuit of Mujahideen

Al-Zawahiri says: If I fall as a martyr in the defense of Islam, my son Muhammad will avenge me, but if I am finished politically and I spend my time arguing with governments about some partial solutions, what will motivate my son to take up my weapons after I have sold these weapons in the bargains' market? More important than all the foregoing is the fact that resistance is a duty imposed by shari'ah.

He notes: In the wake of the USSR's collapse, the United States monopolized its military superiority to dictate its wishes to numerous governments and, as a result, has succeeded in imposing security agreements on many countries. In this way the power of the governments that are affiliated with the United States grew in the sphere of pursuing the Mujahideen in many countries. Doubtlessly this had an impact on the Islamist movement. Still this has been a new challenge that the Jihadi movement confronted with methods that can reduce its impact. It did this by turning the United States into a target.

We should not fail to mention at this point the Sharm al-Shaykh conference that was held in March 1996 and was attended by the Arab countries--except for Sudan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon-the United States, Russia, and many Western countries to agree on ensuring that no Islamist attacks could be carried out against Israel. It was a very insulting and humiliating spectacle and reminds me of this verse by Al-Mutanabbi (famous Arab poet):

He who holds his own worth too light,
Will find further humiliation easy to bear,
For you cannot make a person feel pain
From a new wound if he is already dead.

That conference adopted both public resolutions and secret security cooperation agreements to ensure Israeli security.

Under US tutelage and guidance the Arab interior ministers held conferences that finally produced an agreement to combat “terrorism”. And each year they have been adding a new restrictive clause to this agreement.

The United States was not satisfied merely with agreements and conferences but prodded its own organization (the United Nations) to adopt a resolution imposing economic sanctions on Afghanistan because it refused to hand over the persons wanted by the United States, notably Usama Bin Laden.

Mullah Omar's Defiance of the United States

In the 1990s the United States confronted a new phenomenon that represented a fierce challenge to its dominance and arrogance, namely, the emergence of two Islamic states that liberated their territory under the slogan of jihad in the cause of Allah against the infidel occupiers of Muslim lands. Those two countries were

Afghanistan and Chechnya. The matter did not stop there, for these two emerging countries became the safe haven and destination of emigrants and Mujahideen from various parts of the world or what the United States describes as Arab Afghans, Islamists, terrorists, and so on.

The defiance shown by the Islamic principality of Afghanistan, under the leadership of Prince of the Faithful, the mujahid Mullah Mohammad Omar", when it refused to comply with the US request to hand over Usama Bin Laden and his companions, and its firm steadfastness in continuing to reject this request even in the wake of the US missile strikes against Afghan territory, represented a challenge that the United States could neither absorb nor adapt to.

At the same time the Chechen Mujahideen's defiance of Russia, their insistence on liberating the Muslim Caucasus, and their determination to complete the jihad begun by Imam Shamil (Basayev), may he rest in peace, against Czarist Russia posed a great threat to the influence and interests of the United States, for the Caucasus floats on a sea of petroleum whose estimated reserves are no less than the oil reserves in the Arabian Gulf, especially as the US influence in Central Asia is increasing and taking the form of military bases, spy stations, oil companies, and joint manoeuvres.

The Reasons for the War on Afghanistan

The liberation of the Caucasus would constitute a hotbed of jihad (or fundamentalism as the United States describes it) and that region would become the shelter of thousands of Muslim Mujahideen from various parts of the Islamic world, particularly Arab parts. This poses a direct threat to the United States represented by the growing support for the Jihadi movement everywhere in the Islamic world. If the Chechens and other Caucasian Mujahideen reach the shores of the oil-rich Caspian Sea, the only thing that will separate them from Afghanistan will be the neutral state of Turkmenistan. This will form a mujahid Islamic belt to the south of Russia that will be connected in the east to Pakistan, which is brimming with Mujahideen movements in Kashmir. The belt will be linked to the south with Iran and Turkey that are sympathetic to the Muslims of Central Asia. This will break the cordon that is struck around the Muslim Caucasus and allow it to communicate with the Islamic world in general, but particularly with the Mujahideen movement.

Furthermore the liberation of the Muslim Caucasus will lead to the fragmentation of the Russian Federation and will help escalate the jihad movements that already exist in the republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, whose governments get Russian backing against those Jihadi movements.

The fragmentation of the Russian Federation on the rock of the Islamist movement and at the hands of the Muslims of the Caucasus and Central Asia will topple a basic ally of the United States in its battle against the Islamic Jihadi reawakening.

For this reason the United States chose to begin by crushing the Chechens by providing Western financing for the Russian Army so that when this brutal campaign against the Chechen Mujahideen is completed, the campaign can move southwards to Afghanistan either by the action of former Soviet republics that are US agents or with the participation of US troops under the guise of combating “terrorism”, drug trafficking, and the claims about liberating that region's women.

In this way the United States will have destroyed the two last remaining hotbeds of resistance to it in the Islamic world. For this reason the United States remained silent about the brutal massacres that were carried out in Chechnya and the volcanic fire that was poured on the head of this small republic. Those massacres were unlike anything seen since World War II. Apart from some expressions of denunciation and protest designed to avert criticism against itself, the United States maintained that the Chechen issue was a domestic Russian problem. One should note the fact that there was Jewish-Russian cooperation in the anti-Chechnya campaign. This was proven when Jewish security experts fell into the hands of the Chechen Mujahideen.

This means that the same America that fights against us in Egypt and backs Israel in the heart of the Islamic world is also leading the battle against us in Chechnya, the Caucasus, and also in Somalia where 13,000 Somali nationals were killed in the course of what the United States alleged was its campaign to distribute foodstuffs in Somalia. In the name of food aid, the United States perpetrated hideous acts against the Somalis, acts that came to light only later. Detainees were tortured and their honour violated at the hands of the international coalition forces that allegedly came to rescue Somalia.

In Afghanistan the United States publicly flouted the Islamic shari'ah when Afghanistan called on it to submit evidence against Shaykh Usama Bin Laden to a shari'ah court. The US response was that Washington does not recognize shari'ah courts and demands that Usama Bin Laden be handed over to a country where he can face justice.

Such is the United States, and such is its policy.

Part Eight

Egyptian Al-Jihad Organization leader Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri devotes a section of his memoirs, which are regarded as his last will, to the discussion of the initiative to halt violence, which Al-Zawahiri calls halting the military operations." That initiative was made by the Islamic Group's traditional leaders from behind their prison bars in an Egyptian jail. At the beginning of this episode, to which he gave the title Jihadist Movements", Al-Zawahiri reveals that a leading al-Qa'ida member was martyred during the destruction of the US Embassy in Nairobi. He quotes a long elegy written in honour of this dead leader by Abu-Salman al-Maghribi on 7 August 1998. This is the first time that Usama Bin Laden's primary ally speaks openly about the death of a member of his Islamist group in that bombing.

In his book “Knights Under the Prophet's Banner", which Al-Sharq al-Awsat is serializing, Al-Zawahiri directs a considerable amount of criticism against Muntasir al-Zayyat, the Islamist groups' lawyer, for sponsoring the initiative to halt armed operations. Al-Zawahiri claims that Al-Zayyat enjoys security privileges not available even to many government ministers. He classifies him as a person who sought to alter the Islamist jurisprudence pertaining to jihad" into a concept of violence" and says that Al-Zayyat did this to serve those persons who benefited from the initiative.

Al-Zawahiri declares that Al-Zayyat ignores the fact that it is the government that creates a state of hostility between itself and the Islamists.

Al-Zawahiri cites a story about a discussion between Abdallah Bin-al-Zubayr, one of the prophet's companions, and his mother Asma Bint-Abu-Bakr on the night before he was martyred. Al-Zawahiri sounds as if he is speaking about himself and the fate that awaits him in the face of the US military strikes.

He discusses the history of the Islamic Group's (no-violence) initiative that was first proposed by Khalid Ibrahim, the man in charge of the Islamic Group's Aswan branch in 1977. Al-Zawahiri cites interviews with Al-Zayyat and the Islamist leader Usamah Rushdi, who obtained political asylum in the Netherlands. Both interviews were published by Al-Sharq al-Awsat. He criticizes both of them for sponsoring the initiative. He describes what happened to Rushdi as a complete turnabout in his Islamic constants because he forgot the government's hostility to the Islamists for the sake of backing the no-violence initiative."

Al-Zawahiri discusses the condition of the Islamic Group's spiritual leader Umar Abd-al-Rahman, who is serving a life sentence in a US jail on the charge of involvement in a New York bombing in 1993 and the effect that this imprisonment had on the initiative.

Al-Zawahiri examines some Islamist streams and says that he is dividing this section into two parts:

The first part speaks about the general characteristics of Jihadi movements and the second is about the initiative to halt military operations.

He quotes some poems written by al-Qa'ida member Abu-Salman al-Maghribi in memory of one of the bombers of the US Embassy in Nairobi in August 1998. For the first time the fact is revealed that a member of the Al-Baha Group died in the operation that killed more than 200 people and wounded thousands.

Al-Zawahiri does not reveal the name of the dead person but quotes the following verses:

Your good action caused flags to fly at half-mast,
And your chaste face smashed idols

You said goodbye to lions and their young cubs
And strode through a door where you were an imam

Finding other courses of endeavour crowded,
You selected a course where there was no crowd

With high resolve, you looked with disdain on death
And defeated the massive army of infidelity and doubt.

Al-Zawahiri says that the Islamist movement has made its goal clear, namely, to topple the government and establish an Islamic state. He adds that the Islamist movement realizes that a clash between it and the Jewish-US alliance is inevitable and understands that this is its destiny and duty; that this is its battle that it has been waging and will wage further still."

The Initiative To Halt Military Action

Al-Zawahiri tells this story:The (prophet's companion) Abdallah Bin-al-Zubayr went into his mother's house and complained to her that the people were letting him down and joining Al-Hajjaj (Bin-al-Zubayr's enemy, early Muslim commander and province governor under the Omayyad Caliphate). Even his sons and other relatives had joined Al-Hajjaj and he had only a few men left with him who could not endure long in battle. He told her that the opponents were willing to give him any worldly goods he wanted if he abandoned the fight and he asked for her opinion.

His mother replied: Son, you know yourself better. If you are convinced that you are right and that you are advocating a rightful course of action, then endure. Your companions were killed defending what is right. Do not let the Omayyad young men manipulate your destiny. If you sense in yourself a desire for worldly goods, then you are an unworthy Muslim and your soul will perish and you will cause the souls of those who die along with you to perish. If you are right, then it is not religion that is weak. Do you think that you can live forever? Death is better.

Abdallah Bin-al-Zubayr approached his mother and kissed the top of her head and said: By Allah , this is also my opinion." (from the counsel that Asma Bint-Abu-Bakr, may they both reside in Allah 's pleasure, gave to her son on the eve of his death in battle)

Al-Zawahiri quotes a saying by Sayyid Qutb, the most prominent theoretician of the Islamist movements" who said: Brother, push ahead, for your path is soaked in blood. Do not turn your head right or left but look only up to heaven."

Al-Zawahiri adds: The objective has been somewhat shaken by the fact that the Islamic Group was dragged into a stance where it halted armed Jihadi action under the name of “the initiative to halt military operations”. This initiative has had serious repercussions. Because all persons, those who are and those who are not connected with the issue, have begun debating the initiative, I have decided to discuss it with some frankness and in some detail. I apologize to my brothers in the Islamic Group-whom I respect and love-for disagreeing with their view and criticizing their opinions. However, in my efforts to properly interpret shari'ah, I find that doing what is right is dearer to me than these brothers' love.

Al-Zawahiri discusses the beginnings of the no-violence initiative that he calls the halting of operations. He says: It began with an appeal made by Khalid Ibrahim, leader of the Islamic Group's Aswan branch, who was a defendant in the Islamic Group case in Aswan in April 1996. He notes that the Islamic Group made another appeal in July 1997 in the name of the Islamic Group's leaders who are still serving jail terms at the Turrah and al-Aqrab prisons. It called on the Islamic Group's members inside Egypt and abroad to halt military operations and to stop issuing statements inciting such operations. The Islamic Group asked the government to respond to its initiative.

In the words of then Interior Minister Hasan al-Alfi, the government said that it does not pay attention to such initiatives that merely seek to reduce the jail terms of the group's members and, additionally, the government does not deal with outlaws.

Al-Alfi's successor Habib al-Adli announced that the government does not negotiate with anyone but can release anyone who repents and undertakes to abandon violence and “terrorism”.

Questions About the Initiative To Halt Violent Operations

(Al-Zawahiri narrates) After the introduction that we mentioned above, we believe that we should present the initiative issue in the form of answers to the following questions:

a) What do the Islamic Group's members have to say about the initiative?
b) What description can be given to the initiative?
c) How convincing are the justifications to make such an initiative?

d) What effects has the initiative had so far?

What do the Islamic Group's members have to say about the initiative?
The reader might be surprised that I should begin with this formalistic question but I elected to do so because the answer can reveal facts that are useful in researching this initiative.

1. The first Islamic Group spokesman to make this initiative was Khalid Ibrahim, the Islamic Group's leader in Aswan. He made the initiative during his trial in April 1996. The Lawyer Muntasir al-Zayyat encouraged him to make this initiative, promoted it, and published it in the media. Al-Zayyat alleged at that time that he was waiting for responses to the initiative from the brothers abroad.

2. Afterwards Muhammad Abd-al-Alim spoke on behalf of the Islamic Group leaders during his trial in July 1997 in the case of the bombings of banks. The counsel for the defense was again Muntasir al-Zayyat. Muhammad Abd-al-Alim quoted several announcements by the group's leaders. In the first announcement, they called on the group's members in Egypt and abroad to halt military operations and to stop issuing statements that incite such operations. In a second announcement, they declared that it is not right to commit unjust aggression against the Copts without rightful cause. In a third announcement, they reaffirmed their adherence to halting military operations and any inciting statements both inside Egypt and abroad. They declared that this announcement was not the result of negotiations with the security agencies or other departments but was made for the good of Islam and the Muslims.

   When Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman, from his jail in the United States, issued a statement supporting the aforementioned initiative that was made by the jailed Islamic Group leaders, they responded to it and reaffirmed their earlier position in their fifth statement which declared:The brothers in the Turrah jail express thanks to their shaykh Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman for his enlightened and courageous stance on the initiative to halt the operations. His stance is in harmony with the enlightened positions to which they have always been accustomed to see him adopt for he seeks to avoid bloodshed and when he calls on Allah for assistance, he does it in an enlightened way, and Allah has rewarded him. We call on intermediaries to carry out good offices to seek his release from his jail."

   The Islamic Group leaders in the Turrah jail sent a cable to the leaders of the country's political parties and other public personalities. It was published in the Al-Wafd newspaper and was given a banner headline. The statement read:We have sought to halt the fighting to avoid shedding the blood of the population. We hope to get your support for our initiative. We appeal to the President and the government to respond and interact with this initiative."

   Later on the brothers at the Turrah jail issued a response to Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman's withdrawal of his support for the initiative. We will talk about this when we present Abd-al-Rahman's statements.

3. Usamah Rushdi, on the occasion of his acquittal of the Luxor incident that occurred on 17 November 1997, also spoke about the initiative. He discussed it again in his response to brother Rifa'i Taha, the Islamic Group's military commander. This response arrived in Cairo from Damascus four months ago. I read an interview with Usamah Rushdi in Al-Sharq al-Awsat, parts of which I am going to relate because it gives another dimension to the ideological changes that occurred within the ranks of the Islamic Group. Rushdi believes that Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman changed his mind about the initiative and withdrew his support for it because he did not get enough information about the situation. Rushdi says:Regarding the shaykh's change of mind and his withdrawal of support for the initiative that was made by the brothers in Egypt three years ago, the shaykh reached this conclusion because he received information that tens of thousands of detainees were still held in jail and tortured. Perhaps the lack of communication with his brothers, family, and lawyers in Egypt led to insufficient information reaching him about the general conditions in Egypt and the views of the other Islamic Group leaders and members."

   Although Rushdi believes that the insufficient information that the shaykh receives is the reason why he withdrew his support for the initiative, he admits that the situation in Egypt is bad and that the government is still using the same methods. Rushdi says:Regarding the initiative to halt armed action, the most optimistic among the Islamic Group's members are frustrated because the regime has dragged its feet in carrying out the actions that this initiative should entail (istihqaqat al-mubadarah). Human rights violations continue to occur in the prisons and the humanitarian needs of the detainees and their families are disregarded."

A Turnabout in Constants

(Al-Zawahiri resumes) Rushdi uses the word “istihqaq" (here meaning action that should come as a response to the no-violence initiative) This is a strange term and I do not know what he means by it.

Rushdi also says thatour brothers are subjected to torture and banishment in jail and detention camps and are deprived of any legal or political guarantees."

When the interviewer asks Rushdi if the release of 7,000 detainees and treating the rest of the prisoners in a more humane way is not considered a positive outcome", Rushdi replies: This figure is not generally accepted. Furthermore thousands of Islamic Group members are being detained without a charge or trial. Some have already spent more than 10 years in jail."

I do not know why Rushdi regards the information on which Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman based his withdrawal of support for the initiative as insufficient although he acknowledges that this information is true. Or does he mean some other information? He says that the shaykh withdrew his support for the initiative in line with information he received about the continuing torture of tens of thousands of detainees. Rushdi describes this information as insufficient, but then he comes backs and asserts that thousands of the Islamic Group's members are detained and suffer torture and banishment.

Rushdi believes that the Egyptian Government should find a solution to Abd-al-Rahman's problem and says:I maintain that the Egyptian Government is guilty of a major shortcoming by not intervening to safeguard the shaykh, guarantee his humanitarian rights inside his US jail, and find a solution to his case because, in the final count, he is an Egyptian national, a Muslim scholar, and a professor at Al-Azhar university. Finally he is a blind and sick old man. His continued detention and the inhuman way in which he is treated will continue to be a source of tension on all levels."

The interviewer asks Rushdi:In your view, what can guarantee that Umar Abd-al-Rahman will not become a nuisance to Egypt itself if it supports him and asks that he be handed over to it?"

Rushdi answers: We have known the shaykh always to stand by his sons and brothers. In my assessment, the shaykh will not defy the consensus over continuing and acting on the (no-violence) initiative. Hence, his return to Egypt would promote the current calm situation and would defuse a major source of Islamic anger and tension on the international scene."

He then proposes a deal by which Abd-al-Rahman would be released in exchange for not bothering the Egyptian Government but would promote calm and defuse tensions, not only in Egypt but throughout the world. He would support the Islamic Group's consensus (on the no-violence initiative).

(Al-Zawahiri resumes) I cannot see where this consensus lies since people of the stature of Umar Abd-al-Rahman and Rifa'i Taha oppose the initiative?

I remember a scene that occurred 17 years ago during the first week of September 1983. Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman was roaring in the courtroom and speaking these words to the judge:I am a Muslim who lives only for his religion and is prepared to die for it. I can never remain silent while Islam is being fought on all fronts."

The Islamist Usamah Rushdi then compares the Egyptian state to the father in a family and the Muslim youths as its sons, this being a new relationship that has grown out of the new ideas that have started to emerge. He then implies that the Islamic Group might adhere to Egypt's laws and constitution.

The journalist interviewing him asks: What guarantees could the Islamic Group provide to demonstrate its adherence to the laws and the constitution?"

Rushdi answers in the manner of a politician who does not wish to shut the door to further discussion: Our brothers are suffering torture in jail and banishment to remote prison camps. They are deprived of any legal, humanitarian, or political guarantees. You cannot ask them for guarantees while this condition persists. First give me my rights and then ask me to give guarantees."

Al-Zawahiri says that an Islamic Group spokesman, believed to be Muntasir al-Zayyat, made the following statement to a Libyan magazine that is a mouthpiece of the Libyan Islamic Combat Group:

- The initiative is a legitimate necessity that has an objective that will be fulfilled in the future. -The initiative does not mean that the Islamic Group has abandoned its tenets, nor does it constitute a contradiction of the concept of jihad. -It does not signify that the Islamic Group is placating the ruling regimes or approving of these regimes' policies. -There is no longer any point to continuing the armed operations. -The Islamic Group was compelled to begin the armed operations in self-defense to halt the policy of killing its leaders and to stop the aggression against itself.

- A new policy is necessary in the hope that the government would end its attacks. If the regime does not respond, the door is still open (to resume operations). The same party that shut the door can reopen it but only after the regime's true nature becomes exposed to everyone. -The regime's surveillance agencies have ascertained the success of the policy ofdrying up the terrorists' (financial) resources. The Islamic Group's stance confirms this fact. -These policies have proven their efficacy in dealing with the Islamist stream. -It is expected that the regime will soon sense the urgent need to remove its yoke of oppression from the necks of the population and the Islamists. -The Islamic Group has the right to make its own decision on halting armed operations.

- The above does not prevent the Islamic Group from changing its stance once again. -Setting slogans aside, the existing facts do not enable the Islamic Group to continue its confrontation with the regime. -It was hoped at first that the initiative would bring some results but these hopes have been dashed and do not seem likely to be attained. -The Islamic Group's main objective is to have a presence in the sphere of the call to the faith and in charitable social work among the Muslim masses. -Continuing the current confrontation does harm and no benefit can be gained from it.

- If a group refrains from carrying out jihad for a while, this does not mean that it has completely abandoned the concept of this religious duty. -Some of the group's leaders believe that the initiative is useless but it is the view of the majority that is followed.

Furthermore Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman made a statement after the initiative was made under the slogan “Halt (the operations) for the sake of Allah’s pleasure."

However, early in June 2000 Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman issued a statement from his jail that was relayed by his lawyer Lynn Stewart in which she said that Shaykh Umar was withdrawing his support for the no-violence initiative because it had not brought any positive results for the Islamists. Stewart cited Abd-al-Rahman as saying: There has been no progress. Thousands of detainees are still in jail, the military tribunals are still prosecuting people, and the death penalty continues to be carried out."

Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman's clear assessment of the situation is an eloquent reply to the third statement issued by the brother leaders in the Turrah jail in which they said that they cling to their position on halting armed operations and any announcements that incite armed operations inside Egypt and abroad." They noted that this announcement is not the product of negotiation with the security services or other government departments but is in line with Islamic shari'ah and serves the interests of the Muslims."

Several days later Muntasir al-Zayyat held a news conference at his office in which he cast doubt on the statement attributed to Shaykh Abd-al-Rahman by his lawyer. He refused to show the journalists Dr. Abd-al-Rahman's letter to the Islamic Group's leaders in the Turrah prison.

Al-Zayyat told the journalists that the jailed group leaders sent a message to Shaykh Umar explaining their position on the initiative. The following persons signed the letter: Najih Ibrahim, Ali al-Sharif, Issam Darbalah, Hamdi Abd-al-Rahman, Fu'ad al-Dawalibi, Karam Zuhdi, and Asim Abd-al-Majid. Al-Sharq al-Awsat noticed that Abbud al-Zumar did not sign the letter.

Less than one week later the newspapers published a response from Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman replying to the statement of the group's leaders. Al-Sharq al-Awsat reported:Umar Abd-al-Rahman, spiritual leader of the Islamic Group, the largest Islamist group in Egypt, has reiterated his withdrawal of support for the initiative to halt violence that was declared by the group's traditional leaders who are serving jail terms. He noted that he did not abolish the initiative but simply withdrew his support for it."

Umar Abd-al-Rahman said in a signed statement, a copy of which was received by Al-Sharq al-Awsat, that he asked that his statements be published through his US lawyer Lynn Stewart, after some Islamists questioned whether the statements attributed to him were really his.

Stewart received the following from Abd-al-Rahman:I have not abolished the initiative but I have withdrawn my support for it. I have made my view clear but left the issue to my brothers to debate among themselves as to how useful the initiative is."

Umar Abd-al-Rahman said:All the statements attributed to me by my lawyer Lynn Stewart are true and have actually come from me."

(Al-Zawahiri continues) It is important here to stop and examine the ease and flexibility with which Muntasir al-Zayyat can operate under the aegis of governmental facilities. Visits to prisoners have been banned for four years, dozens are quietly killed inside their jails, and preachers are prohibited in accordance with Article 201 of the Penalty Code from protesting against administrative laws and decisions. The country continues to languish under the burden of the Emergency Law, Muslim young men are abducted in various countries and brought back to Egypt, the government then conceals them for long months before revealing their presence in the country, as in the case of Ahmad Salamah and Issam Muhammad Hafiz. Sometimes the government denies that it knows anything about their fate as in the case of Tal'at Fu'ad and brother Muhammad al-Zawahiri.

While all this is happening, Muntasir al-Zayyat hastens to the Turrah prison, meets with the Islamic Group's leaders, delivers to them a letter from Umar Abd-al-Rahman, gets a statement from them in response to the letter and also gets a letter from them to carry to Shaykh Umar. He returns from jail on the same day, contacts the newspapers, and tells them about the statement issued by the jailed brothers and their letter to Dr. Umar. He then holds a news conference at his office (just imagine this) and makes his views known on Shaykh Umar's statements and Rifa'i Taha's statements on the initiative (we will have more to say about this later). He refuses to let the journalists know the contents of Shaykh Umar's letter although US and Egyptian security agencies are informed of the contents. The Egyptian people, however, are not supposed to know the truth of Shaykh Umar's letter to his brothers.

Does this not make you want to pause, think, and ask why?

While Muntasir al-Zayyat enjoys these amazing privileges in Egypt, New York City's Assistant District Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald sent a letter to the lawyer Lynn Stewart and the rest of the shaykh's defense team banning them from visiting the shaykh or talking with him on the telephone. This happened after Lynn Stewart held a news conference-on the shaykh's request-in which she announced that the shaykh had withdrawn his support for the initiative to halt armed operations. Just imagine this harmonious Egyptian-US coordination vis-a-vis the initiative.

Brother Rifa'i Ahmad Taha also commented on the initiative. He rejected it when it was first made and later repeated his rejection after Shaykh Umar announced that he was withdrawing his support for it. He told Al-Sharq al-Awsat:Regarding the case of Umar Abd-al-Rahman, the Islamic Group's spiritual leader who is detained in a US jail, the policy of talking and making threats is over. We will address the United States in a language that it understands. We will break his shackles and release him from captivity. I believe that the time to do so is drawing near."

Asked if the Islamic Group might revise its past errors, Rifa'i Taha said: In answer to your question-if I have understood it correctly--if the Islamic Group has altered its methods and is revising its past errors, my answer is this: The Islamic Group does not believe that it made errors in the past whether in its call to jihad, in its promotion of virtue and prohibition of vice, or in its call to Allah 's religion."

Muntasir al-Zayyat hastened to hold a news conference in which he responded to Rifa'i Ahmad Taha's remarks. Al-Zayyat said:The Islamic Group's leaders have the highest respect for Taha and appreciate his role in shouldering the group's tasks and responsibilities at one time. However, at this time he represents only his own personal view that is not binding on the Islamic Group as a whole."

Al-Zayyat noted that decision-making within the group is the domain of its traditional leaders, namely, those who are in jail in Egypt and the group's shura (consultative) council abroad that is chaired by Mustafa Hamzah."

Karam Zuhdi also spoke about the initiative to halt armed operations. In a news conference Muntasir al-Zayyat cited
Zuhdi as saying:If fighting and armed operations have not helped the Islamic Group to achieve its aims over all those years, then it must seek other methods of operation."

If the above statement really came from Karam Zuhdi, this means that the Islamic Group has abandoned fighting as a method of operation and has, indeed, also abandoned its advocacy of such armed operations both inside and outside Egypt. In exchange for what has it done so? What is the alternative? Does the alternative consist of repeated requests to the government, made by the people who presented the initiative, to show responsiveness to their initiative? Does the alternative consist of asking the leaders of the political parties to intercede with the government to make it respond to their initiative?

Is this the Islamic Group's alternative method to jihad and incitement to jihad? Does the work of the Jihadi groups-that is governed by shari'ah, an understanding of the jurisprudence of the historical imams, the nation's ulema, and proof of adherence to shari'ah-consist nowadays of repeatedly soliciting the secular governments to give us permission to establish an Islamic state?

Observations on Al-Zayyat Muntasir al-Zayyat has also spoken in the name of the Islamic Group. When we speak about this man, we need to make several observations.

a) Muntasir al-Zayyat has for a long time promoted the idea of halting jihad action against the government and its US and Jewish allies inside and outside Egypt. Since Abd-al-Halim Musa's term as Interior Minister, Al-Zayyat has taken part in numerous communications on this issue.

b) Any observer can notice that Muntasir al-Zayyat enjoys privileges unavailable even to many Egyptian ministers. He can, on the same day that he makes the request, enter any of Egypt's long-established jails and pass through all security checks. He then holds meetings inside these jails with the most dangerous anti-government figures, delivers messages to them from abroad, and takes out messages and statements from them. He then holds news conferences to publish and distribute these messages and statements to the media. He declares that he is the agent of the Islamic Group's traditional leaders and the person authorized to speak on their behalf. He conducts interviews on the radio and the satellite channels in this capacity.

Indeed Al-Zayyat is almost the only channel of communication between the jailed Islamic Group's leaders and the outside world. Whatever messages they receive pass through him and whatever statements they issue, he carries in his pocket or we listen to them through his words.

If you add to this the fact that officials of the State Security Investigation Department told Al-Zayyat before he was released from jail at the end of his detention in connection with the Lawyers Association's strike that if he crossed certain red lines, he would cost them only a few pennies, that is, the price of one bullet, you would then grasp a new dimension of the group's initiative to halt armed operations.

In his movements Muntasir al-Zayyat enjoys the backing and authorization of the jailed Islamic Group's leaders. This backing and authorization has been repeated on several occasions.

-On 5 January 1998 Al-Zayyat declared that he was retiring completely from public political life and that he would no longer represent defendants in cases connected with the religious groups, citing as a reason the alleged fact that the leaders abroad let him down and did not respond to his good offices to halt the violence. He issued a statement in which he said: The violence still rages in my country and the political climate is still complicated. I have tried along with others to promote a halt to violence and to end the bloodshed. I have never been a hired lawyer who defends for the sake of payment but rather I have done this as a vocation, a calling. I have had discussions with many people, notably the Islamic Group leaders who are serving jail sentences at the Turrah prison in connection with the Al-Sadat case. We have tried to express legitimate Islamic aspirations but these aspirations were lost amid the smoke of shells and the noise of bullets."

He added: The cause to which I have devoted myself is no longer clear. Although I have tolerated a great burden and walked through thorns and mine fields for 20 years during which I was caught between the government's hammer and the anvil of the religious groups, yet I have always sought to be clear in my work, speech, and transactions without running afoul of the law by having illegal relationships since I was released from jail in connection with the Al-Jihad case in 1984."

Muntasir went on:I have suffered a lot from the intransigence of the brothers abroad and their inability to adopt daring resolutions or develop new methods of action. Every idea has its own tone of address, method, and strategy. As Islamists we used to reap much benefit when we exercised public call to the faith at mosques and Islamic forums. Despite all the obstacles, violence cannot be the remedy. If violence is sometimes justified, it has no justification if it is no longer rooted in logic and sound argument and turns into an indiscriminate act conducted against innocent people just as happened in Luxor."

(Al-Zawahiri resumes) It is clear from a careful reading of Muntasir al-Zayyat's statements above that he does not belong to the Jihadi movement and does not agree with its choice of jihad as a method. Indeed he describes jihad in the cause of Allah as violence, which is exactly the term that the government uses. He alleges that he tried to promote an end to violence, which is the way the government describes jihad in the cause of Allah . He says that he and the jailed Islamic Group leaders tried to express legitimate Islamic aspirations but these aspirations were lost amid the smoke and noise of bullets. This means that his attempt to halt what the Jihadi groups maintain is jihad in the cause of Allah , and what he describes as violence, has been lost in the midst of the battle smoke of the Jihadi operations.

Part Nine

In the ninth part of his memoirs, which are considered his last will," Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Islamic al-Jihad Organization and Bin Laden's right-hand man, speaks about the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) as a political movement within his review of the Islamic currents. In his memoirs he also speaks about the jihad movements," their main features, and his position on the initiative tohalt the violence" undertaken by the historical leaders" of the Islamic Group (Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah) detained in Turra Prison in 1977.

In his book “Knights under the Prophet's Banner," Al-Zawahiri says the MB is growing organizationally but is committing suicide ideologically and politically. He also says that the history of the MB is full of mistakes and failures and adds that the mistakes committed by the biggest Islamic movement in the world prompted him to write a book entitledThe Muslim Brotherhood's Bitter Harvest in 60 Years.(Al-Hisad al-Murr lil Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin fi Sittin Aman.) He admits that he was sharply criticized by his brothers in the Islamist movements because of his book “The Bitter Harvest" in which he concentrated on the bad deeds of the MB without mentioning any of their good deeds. He mentions that some Islamists claim that he insulted MB founder and general guide Shaykh Hasan al-Banna (may Allah have mercy on him). He describes his (Bitter Harvest) book as a human judgement that does not claim be infallible. He calls on the MB youth to carry out a corrective renaissance within their societies, to return to the doctrine of the righteous predecessors, and to stop inventing what they call new fiqh (new jurisprudence). He indicates that it is illogical for the MB youth, especially in Egypt, to remain onlookers while the nation around them develops, changes, and progresses."

O ye who believe! Fear Allah and be with those who are true (in word and deed).

It was not fitting for the people of Medina and the Bedouin Arabs of the neighbourhood to refuse to follow Allah 's Apostle, nor to prefer their own lives to his: because not nothing could they suffer or do, but was reckoned to their credit as a deed of righteousness, -- ***Whether they suffered thirst, or fatigue, or hunger, in the Cause of Allah , or trod paths to raise the ire of the unbelievers, or received any injury, whatever from any enemy: For Allah suffereth not the reward to be lost of those who do good;--***

Nor they could they spend anything (For the Cause)--small or great--Nor cut across a valley, but the deed is inscribed to their credit; that Allah may requite their deed with the best possible reward)." (Koranic verses)

In his memoirs, Al-Zawahiri says without a doubt, the MB is the biggest Islamic movement in the modern age. It is also the first that was established in the Arab world. The MB has been able to spread worldwide and to survive despite the obstacles and difficulties it has faced sometimes." He adds: But the situation in which the MB has brought itself in the Muslim world in general and in Egypt in particular requires study and contemplation. Maybe the MB is growing organizationally but it is committing suicide ideologically and politically."

Al-Zawahiri claims that one of the main reasons for this political and ideological suicide was the MB's pledge of allegiance to the President of the Republic (Husni Mubarak) in 1987. He says: The MB has reneged on its history of struggle and what this history contains in terms of the blood of the martyrs, the wounds of the detainees, and the agony of the fugitives. Not only that, the MB has also reneged on its principles and creed. The MB is drifting away from its history, creating a new generation who only cares about worldly things now and in the future."

Al-Zawahiri explains that this pledge of alliance was one of the important reasons that prompted him to write his book, “The Muslim Brotherhood's Bitter Harvest in Sixty Years." He admits that criticism has been leveled at him because of this book. He says: Some of my brothers have blamed me because of the book's contents. Some of them are proud of their relationship both with me and with the MB. Their criticism was that this book is unfair because it pinpoints the mistakes of the MB and does not mention any of their good deeds although their history is full of good deeds. They even accused me of denying some of the MB's great deeds and that I have insulted Shaykh Hasan al-Banna (may Allah have mercy on him)--something that is not proper by someone (Al-Zawahiri) who belongs to the Islamic movement and who knows the importance and virtues of Shaykh Al-Banna.

Al-Zawahiri says, my response to them was as follows:

1. This book is a human judgment that does not claim to be infallible and that might make mistakes and contain all human shortcomings.

2. With your admission you agree with me that the MB have made mistakes that are tantamount to crimes that must be punished. They have also carried out many good acts that elevate them to the status of saints. I have waited for the MB to correct their mistakes or to draw the attention of the young generation to these mistakes. I have only found from you criticism in your private councils and silence and negativity in enlightening the young generation.

3. My book is not a comprehensive review of the MB so that it will be criticized for ignoring their good deeds. That is why I did not call the book 'The Muslim Brotherhood in the Balance.' My book is a warning, especially to the Muslim youth, not to slide into the same slope until they reach the bottom to which the MB have slid, while these youth think they are supporting Islam and struggling for the sake of Allah ."

   Al-Zawahri says in his memoirs: I have given the MB an example. I said I am like a doctor who is treating a patient suffering from stomach cancer that might kill him. It is not acceptable for the doctor to tell the patient that his brain is good, his heart is good, his kidneys are good, all his organs are good except the stomach, which has cancer. It is the duty of the doctor to warn the patient that he might die from a dangerous disease, that he must treat himself or else he will die, and that his good heart, brain, and organs will not help him if the cancer is not excised from his stomach.

4. I do not deny that the book contains some phrases in the book that need to be deleted or amended, such as the Jews have been in Palestine since 1948 but the MB have never disturbed them for 44 years because the government has not allowed them to do this."

   Al-Zawahiri retracts the above passage and says: I testify that the MB have fought the Jews and that their youth are still fighting them in Palestine until now."

   He continues: I do not deny that there are some unnecessary phrases in the book; however, their removal will not affect the topic of the book. I have revised the book twice and have thought of publishing a second edition. I do not know whether Allah will help me to do this or not."

   Concerning my criticism of Shaykh Hasan al-Banna (may Allah have mercy on him), I was prompted by two things:

   First, Shaykh Hasan al-Banna (may Allah have mercy on him) was an historic public figure who must be studied by anyone critical of the MB. I did not sanctify Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, as many Muslim Brothers have done. I did not consider him deceptive and fallacious, as secularists and communists have done. I just studied and criticized his work according to my best ability, reporting on him and the MB as best as I could. Regrettably, no MB leader has answered me, as far as I know.

   Second, many of those who came after Hasan al-Banna (may Allah have mercy on him) were justifying their mistakes by saying Hasan al-Banna did this and that before them. Therefore, it was necessary to study the use of (the words and deeds of) Hasan al-Banna as a precedent. The course of the people of the Sunna (Sunni Muslims) is to know righteousness in order to know its men and not to know men in order to know righteousness.

5. However, after the publication of this book, the MB have regrettably committed several doctrinal mistakes. They issued statements, including a statement entitled 'Statement from the MB to the People.' They started speaking about a new fiqh (new jurisprudence) alien to the scholars of Islam and in which they equated Muslims and with non-Muslims in all the material, moral, civilian, and political rights of citizenship. Our brother Ahmad Abd-al-Salam Shahin responded to them in his book 'Fath al-Rahman fi al-Rad ala Bayan al-Ikhwan'.

   Al-Zawahiri adds in his book:In a previous statement, the MB said they believe the Christians have the right to hold all the state's posts except the post of the President of the Republic. Why? In other words, the MB don't mind if the Egyptian Prime Minister is a Christian! Why not also a Jew? We do have Jews in Egypt. Or the issue is a political propaganda and not principles, as they claim?

6. On the level of the major events facing the Muslim nation, the MB in general and those in Egypt in particular have chosen to be passive and to abandon jihad for the sake of Allah , although jihad is the greatest duty of Islam. This is despite all the catastrophes that have befallen our nation and despite the US and Jewish occupation of our lands and the tyranny of the (local) rulers and their aggression on Muslims.

7. Therefore, the MB youth must carry out a corrective renaissance within their societies. They must affirm the need to return to the pure doctrine of the righteous predecessors, to adhere to the unchanging rules of the shari'ah, to stop inventing what they call the new fiqh," and to stand in one line with their brother Mujahideen everywhere.

8. The MB youth must realize that the new crusader onslaught will not be pleased with them until they join the faith of the infidels and that all the tricks of politics and pacification will not work. It is better for the youth of Islam to carry arms and defend their religion with pride and dignity instead of living in humiliation in the empire of the New World order.

9. The forces of jihad are gathering these days and are forming a new reality that has waged battles against the Western infidels and their local agents.

Acquittal of 194 out of 302 defendants in the Al-Sadat (assassination) case was more of a surprise to the security Services than to the Islamists

In the chapter “Pharaoh Among his Soldiers" (pharaoh is the nickname given to Al-Sadat by Islamists), Al-Zawahiri refers in his bookKnights Under the Prophet's Banner" to the Al-Jihad Organization major trial in 1981 as a result of which he was imprisoned for three years following the assassination of President Anwar Al-Sadat.

He indicates that the MB misled the ruling regime by assuring Al-Sadat that the Islamist movements did not pose any threat to his regime. He says events in the Egyptian street have proved that the Islamist movements will continue to be capable of introducing change. The assassination of Al-Sadat was a strong blow to the US plan for the region." While in his book Al-Zawahiri denounces the military trial and considers it an example of the repeated confrontations between the Islamists and so-called military secularism, he praises the president of court, counselor Abd-al-Ghaffar, saying his verdicts were fair to the Islamists.

Al-Zawahiri refers to the spiritual leader of Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, Umar Abd-al-Rahman--now serving a life sentence in the United States on the charge of involvement in the New York bombings in 1993--who led the campaign of defending the Islamists in the major al-Jihad Organization trial.

Al-Zawahiri says in his book: After the investigation period was over and the prosecutor completed his investigations, the defendants were referred to court in the biggest case in the history of the Egyptian judiciary."

The prosecutor sent 302 defendants to court. The proceedings of the trial started approximately two years after the assassination of Al-Sadat.

The trial was unique and full of surprises. But the most important events in the trial were

A. the delivery by Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman of his famous testimony for three days, and
B. the historic testimony by Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il (may Allah have mercy on him).

Shaykh Umar Abd-al-Rahman later on published his testimony in a book entitled “A word of Truth."

Concerning this testimony, Al-Zawahiri says:Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman reviewed the issues of shari'ah and jihad (holy war) in detail, citing the Koran and the Sunnah (sayings and doings of Prophet Muhammad) and the consensus of the nation's religious scholars. He responded to the prosecutor's indictment and the Al-Azhar report that the prosecutor has used. This testimony jeopardized Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman's legal position because it contained evidence of his support for jihad and establishing the shari'ah. The judge warned him that his words were very dangerous because the words of his lawyers could be retracted but his words could not.

However, Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman insisted on defending the cause of Islam during the trial even if this led to his conviction. Not only that, he put the judge in the dock, holding him responsible for the injustice which he might mete out on Muslims, warning him of Allah 's wrath and punishment, and urging him to judge in accordance with the shari'ah.

Dr. Umar Abd-al-Rahman's opinion was that this was an opportunity that should not be missed to inform the regime of Allah 's teachings. His testimony was the best defense he could offer to his brothers (co-defendants)--

especially as the verdict was expected to be the death sentence--by showing the justness of their cause and their noble intention.

Indeed, the judge did not issue any death sentence in that case. He cited extenuating circumstances, such as the defendants' just cause and noble intention."

Al-Zawahiri says:I cannot conclude the talk on Umar Abd-al-Rahman's statements at the trial without mentioning some of them which were strong in their justness and straightforwardness. This put him in a very difficult position because the prosecutor could have used these statements against him and demanded the death sentence for him. But he was the scholar of the Mujahideen and the mujahid of the scholars.

Shaykh Umar said: The prosecutor says that those who raise the slogan that power is for Allah while they themselves want to monopolize power have been described by Muslims and Islamic history as Khawarij" (old dissident sect of Islam). Yes, power is for Allah " are words that were previously said by the noble son of Ishaq son of Ya'qub son of Ibrahim: the prophet of Allah , Yusuf (biblical Joseph), who said those words from his prison in Egypt. The prison's restrictions did not prevent him from saying the words of truth, which were also said by other prophets. Therefore, this is the call of Muslims throughout history. The Khawarij said those words to the fourth orthodox caliph (Ali). If these words were said in the first age (of Islam), those who said them were Khawarij. If they were said in this age, those who said them are Mujahideen."

Al-Zawahiri quotes Umar Abd-al-Rahman as saying during the trial: The prosecutor's office has defended the sulh (conciliation) treaty between Egypt and Israel. I will not reply to the prosecutor's office. My reply to the committee formed by the Shaykh of Al-Azhar is enough. I will reply to the great scholar (sarcastically)--the prosecutor who testified that the treaty is valid on the basis of Allah 's words: As long as these stand true to you, stand ye to them," and But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace." (Koranic verses) Did the Jews stand true to us? Did they incline towards peace." Is it not we who inclined and stood true?

Umar Abd-al-Rahman also said: My crime is that I have criticized the state and shown the corruption of the society and its hostility to Allah 's religion. I have stood up everywhere saying the words of truth, which are the very basics of my religion and belief. My religion and conscience prompt me to fight injustice and tyranny, refute misconceptions and doubts, and expose the tyrants, even if this costs me my life and possessions.

I am not afraid of prison or execution. I am not happy if I am pardoned or acquitted. I am not sad if I am sentenced to death--it will be martyrdom for the sake of Allah . Then I will say: I have won, O Allah of the Kaaba. I am a Muslim who lives and dies for his religion. I cannot remain silent while Islam is being attacked everywhere.

In closing, Umar Abd-al-Rahman said: O President of the Higher State Security Court: I have made my argument and said the truth. You must judge in accordance with the shari'ah and you must apply the rules of Allah . If you do not do this, you are an unbeliever, a wrongdoer, and a rebel. By (the light of) what Allah hath revealed, they are (no better than) unbelievers. "By (the light of) what Allah hath revealed, they are (no better than) wrongdoers. By (the light of) what Allah hath revealed, they are those who rebel. (Koranic verses)

O President of the Court: Allah prevents you from the government and the government does not prevent you from Allah (as published). Allah 's orders are above everything else. There is no obedience in disobeying Allah’s orders. I warn you of His wrath against criminal people.

Al-Zawahiri says:As for the testimony of Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il (may Allah have mercy on him), it was serious because it contained clear answers to several serious questions pertaining to the regime in Egypt and its position on Islam.

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il stressed that Anwar Al-Sadat, by saying that 'there was no politics in religion and no religion in politics,' had washed his hands of Islam.

In his testimony Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il explained his attempts to codify (Islamic) laws through the People's Assembly and his despair of the application of the shari'ah through this channel because of the government's manoeuvrings.

Those elections were a painful lesson to those who followed this course on the pretext that they would achieve the interest of Islam and establish a government ruled by the shari'ah. They claimed that the current circumstances required political flexibility in dealing with (religious) texts; they thus lost their religion but did not win the world. (reference to MB participation in the People's Assembly elections)

As for the court's sentences, they were a surprise to the government, the security services, and the prosecutor. The court did not issue any death sentences. It acquitted 194 out of 302 defendants."

Al-Zawahiri claims that the legal reasons on which the verdicts were based were more important than the verdicts:

- The court admitted that Egypt is not being governed in accordance with the Islamic shari'ah.
- The court admitted that a government that applies the shari'ah is a duty and a hope for every Muslim.
- The court admitted that the Egyptian Constitution and laws contravene the rules of Islam.
- The court admitted that many people have departed from Islam in the Egyptian society under the protection of the law.
- The court admitted that physical torture was used against the defendants, causing permanent disabilities to some of them. It demanded that those responsible for this torture be referred to investigation."

Part Ten

In the 10th chapter of his memoir, which is considered his last will, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri talks about the reasons for the Islamists' hostility to the United States and Israel, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the Islamists' standpoint on the usurpation of the Palestinian rights.

In his book entitled “Knights Under the Prophet's Banner", Al-Zawahiri says that the establishment of Israel has been a western objective for over two centuries. The Israeli presence in the region was considered a basic guarantee for serving the western interests. Israel separates between Egypt and Syria, the two regions that for several centuries served as a wall of steadfastness against the Crusades and the Tartar conquests and that continue to this day to constitute a considerable human weight in the heart of the Islamic world.

In his book, Al-Zawahiri talks about Napoleon Bonaparte's statement to the Jews following his invasion of Egypt and his failure to conquer Akka in 1799. He recalls Bonaparte's call to the Jews, whom he referred to as the legitimate heirs to Palestine." He notes that Bonaparte's message to the Muslims and his flirtation with Islam was a brazen act of deception while his call to the Jews was a different case.

Al-Zawahiri quotes several history books and British documents, including writer Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal's book “The Secret Negotiations Between the Arabs and Israel", as well as articles published in the Arab press that are available on the Internet. This suggests that the leader of the Egyptian Al-Jihad Group was not isolated from the activity of daily life in the Middle East while he was in the caves and mountains of Afghanistan.

He notes that the Egyptian-Ottoman struggle, during the era of Muhammad Ali, provided the Jews, and the English behind them, with a golden opportunity to plant Israel in the heart of the Islamic world or, in other words, to create a buffer zone between the Ottoman Empire and the ambitions of Muhammad Ali and his allies. As Al-Zawahiri explains, the western alliances sought to settle the Jews in Palestine to serve as a thorn in the back of Muhammad Ali. Al-Zawahiri makes many references to British documents between World War I and World War II. He cites the British Foreign Office's endeavours to indirectly place the holy sites under British mandate. Al-Zawahiri notes that the Camp David Accords sought to turn Sinai into a disarmed area to serve as a buffer zone between Egypt and Israel. He cites the peace treaty between the two countries, particularly issues related to the armament of the Egyptian Army inside Sinai. He claims that Egypt has restored Sinai formally but it remains in the hands of the Jews militarily.

He also talks about Prince Faysal Bin-al-Sharif Bin-al-Hussein and notes his meetings with Chaim Weizmann in Aqaba under the supervision of the famous British intelligence officer Lawrence.

Al-Zawahiri says that Anwar al-Sadat was not the first to sign a separate deal between Israel and the Arabs. Prince Faysal did that before him. The latter, he adds, wanted to buy his kingdom from the British by selling Palestine to the Jews. Al-Zawahiri also talks about the US airlift during the 1973 war, when the United States shipped weapons, ammunition, and tanks to Israel for 33 days. The goal was to compensate Israel for its war losses and to swiftly upgrade the combat capabilities. Al-Zawahiri cites many examples about the US flagrant support for Israel, including the US pressure on Egypt to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty at a time when Israel publicly declares that it will not sign the treaty because of its special circumstances. Despite this, the United States sympathizes with Israel and overlooks its actions. This means that the United States has deliberately left the nuclear weapons in the hands of Israel to threaten its Arab neighbours. Al-Zawahiri adds: It is astonishing and disturbing to see that a country such as Pakistan, which maintains strong ties with the United States, has refused to sign the treaty so long as its enemy India has failed to sign it. (End of introductory note)

Al-Zawahiri adds in his book: The western states tried for over two centuries to establish Israel. They considered its presence in the region a basic guarantee for serving the Western interests. Israel separates Egypt and Syria, the two major regions that for several years served as a wall of steadfastness against the Crusades and the Tartar conquests. Until this day they constitute a considerable human weight in the heart of the Islamic world.

As for France, it has tried since the end of the 18th Century to establish Israel. Here are some examples:

When Napoleon Bonaparte headed for Syria, following his invasion of Egypt, he failed to conquer Akko in 1799. As a result, he issued his famous call to the Jews everywhere. His statement was distributed in Palestine as well as simultaneously in France, Italy, the German provinces, and Spain. This indicates that the issue was

far greater than a local incident that Bonaparte faced, having failed to conquer the walls of Jerusalem. The statement said:

> From Napoleon Bonaparte, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces in the French Republic in Africa and Asia, to the legitimate heirs of Palestine:
>
> O Israelis; O unique people; the forces of conquest and tyranny have failed to deprive you of your origin and national existence, although they deprived you of the land of your ancestors."
>
> The neutral and rational observers of people's destiny, although they lacked the powers of prophets such as Isaiah and Joel, have realized the prophecies predicted by these prophets through their sublime faith; namely, that Allah 's slaves (the word Israel in Hebrew means the slave of Allah) will return to Zion and chant. They will be overwhelmed with joy when they restore their kingdom without fear. Rise forcefully, O those expelled in the wilderness. You are facing a fierce battle waged by your people, after the enemy had considered the land inherited from the forefathers a booty to be divided among them as they wish."

“Returning the Pasha" to His Senses

Al-Zawahiri adds: At the end of 1838, Napoleon's conqueror and the commander of the British armies, Lord Willington, wrote a report to Lord Palmerston to give him a summary of the situation in the Near East. He said: A serious crisis broke out this year between Egypt and Turkey as a result of conflicts and contradictions caused by Egypt's wali (Ruler). In 10 years Muhammad Ali managed to build a fleet and an army that exceed the legitimate needs of his government. He has recruited 100,000 people and amassed them against his master, the Ottoman Caliph. These conditions require a swift action by the English Government as well as an urgent intervention that could bring the Pasha", who imagines himself to be invincible, back to his senses, submission, and obedience of the Sultan."

It is worth noting here that Britain, one of the superpowers, has given itself the right to determine the legitimate defense needs of weaker governments. Whatever exceeds these needs is considered illegitimate. This is the same law that is being applied by the United States and major states against other countries. The United States and the major powers have the right to possess weapons of mass destruction while the weaker nations are denied this right.

The Jews took advantage of the complicated political circumstances at the time. Palmerston did not want the sick man (Turkey) to die before preparations are in place to divide his heritage. He also did not wish him to recover. Accordingly, it is necessary to establish a buffer zone that separates Egypt and Turkey. Each one must be kept in place and prevented from becoming stronger than necessary!

On the establishment of the State of Israel, Al-Zawahiri says the following in his memoirs:

The quick and possible solution is to separate between the Ottoman Empire and the ambitions of Muhammad Ali and his allies. The Sultan and his entourage must realize that Muhammad Ali's ambitions are not confined to the Eastern Mediterranean only. They extend to the Red Sea and Aden to prove his control of the empire.

The buffer zone that could be thought of is the settlement of the Jews in Palestine. This would turn them into a thorn in the back of Muhammad Ali that would prevent him from threatening Turkey on one hand and stop him from having a free rein in the Red Sea as he wishes on the other hand.

Should the Sultan accept its advice, the British Government will be prepared to place the Jewish colonies in Palestine under its protection so that this could serve as a permanent warning to Muhammad Ali and deter him from threatening the supreme state.

In 1840, the European powers imposed two treaties on Muhammad Ali following his defeat. The first concerned him and his heirs who rule Egypt. The second was called the treaty of easing the situation in Syria." On the surface, the second treaty secured the exit of Muhammad Ali's troops from Syria, but in actual fact it prepared the grounds for a massive Jewish immigration to Palestine and sought to achieve the basic demand related to

the Ottoman Caliphate's heritage in the east, particularly the important strategic corner surrounding the Eastern Mediterranean, where Egypt and Syria are located.

In 1849, a small Jewish conference was held in London under the sponsorship of the Rothschild Family. The conference ended by making the following two demands:

1. Declare the acceptance by the world Jews wherever they exist of the British protection.

2. Appeal to the British Government to facilitate for the Jews the colonization of Palestine, as is the case in other regions.

   In 1875 it came to British Prime Minister Disraeli's knowledge that Khedive Isma'il, the ruler of Egypt, wished to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company.

   Disraeli was the last Jewish Prime Minister in the history of England. If British politicians were driven by their Protestant religious feelings or political and military interests to seek the establishment of Israel, a Jewish politician such as Disraeli realized that such an atmosphere ought to be used to serve the sons of his religion. One of the main characters in a novel that he wrote early in his life said: England is too grand to be turned by some of its politicians into a large commercial accounting office. England has a heart and a conscience. Therefore, it stands alongside the Jews with the realization that God Himself is fighting for the resurrection of the Jews.

   As soon as word of Khedive Isma'il's desire to sell his shares reached Disraeli, the latter realized that this was a golden opportunity for Britain to establish a foothold in Egypt in preparation for establishing Israel.

   Disraeli had to think fast. The problem facing him was that the Khedive wanted the price in cash and the deal to be conducted in secrecy. These two conditions prevented him from presenting the deal to parliament. He found a fast solution in the person of Baron Rothschild, who arranged for him next day 4 million gold pounds.

   With England's purchase of Egypt's share in the Suez Canal, the events accelerated in favour of Israel.

   In 1877, a little more than a year after the conclusion of the deal, the Rothschild family was financing the first settlement colony for the Jews in Palestine on an area of 2,275 feddans. It was the Pitah Tikfah settlement.

   In the same year, the British Government asked the Sultan to permit the landing of military troops in Cyprus, noting that this was militarily necessary to monitor what goes on the Syrian coast following the English-Turkish (assistance) agreement concluded at the end of the Crimea war. Under this agreement, Britain promised the Sultan to protect his eastern property! In 1882, Britain cited the existence of disturbances in Egypt (Urabi's revolt) and made a decision to occupy Egypt and quell the Urabi revolution. Britain's excuse was that Urabi was rebelling against the Sultan. Thus, the troops of infidelity marched into the homes of Islam under the protection of the Sultan!

   The Jewish immigration movement was much accelerated after the British occupation of Egypt. The number of settlement colonies mushroomed so much that 10 years after the British occupation of Egypt approximately 20 colonies were built. They ranged in area between 210 to 3,800 feddans west and east of the River Jordan.

3. At the start of the 20th Century, Word War I broke out. Before this war, the British policy knew exactly what it wanted in Palestine. This became clear in a recommendation made by British Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman immediately before the war. It said verbatim: The establishment of an alien and strong human barrier on the bridge that connects Europe to the ancient world and links them to the Mediterranean and the Red sea is a demand that must continue to guide us. It is imperative that we find the practical means for the implementation of this demand. This clearly meant an insistence to establish a Jewish state in Palestine.

4. During the war, the British Government, in 1915, asked Sir Herbert Samuel to outline a concept of what the situation in Palestine after the victory could be like.

Herbert Samuel, as a member of the War Ministry in addition to being a Jew and Zionist, wrote a memorandum on 5 February 1915 entitled the “Future of Palestine." The memorandum noted the following:

> ***“The solution that enjoys the greatest chance for success and guarantees the British interests is the establishment of a large Jewish federation under British mandate in Palestine. After the war, Palestine must be placed under British mandate.”***

5. In the spring of 1915, a few months after the start of the World War I, a person appeared in the scene of events who rendered invaluable services to the Jews. His name was Marx Sykes, who signed on behalf of Britain the famous Sykes-Picot Agreement, which blew the hopes of Britain's Arab allies up in the air along with the words of honour guaranteed by the British Crown.

6. The British documents reveal a dangerous idea that dominated the British policy during World War I and continued to dominate it for a long time thereafter. The core of this idea is that the holy sites of all religions in the Middle East must be placed under British control.

7. The British documents note that Musa Qatawi Pasha, head of the Jewish community in Egypt, asked General Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Egypt, in July 1916 for his permission to establish Jewish battalions within the General Allenby's army, which was getting ready to march against the Turks in Palestine and Syria. General Maxwell gave his permission and allowed troops from these battalions to place the Star of David at the front of their hats to make it clear that they belong to Jewish battalions.

8. In this atmosphere fraught with evil about carving up the heritage of the Ottoman State, hatred toward Islam, and blind fanaticism in favour of the Jews, the Balfour Declaration was issued on 2 November 1917. It said the following:

   “His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

9. After the war and during the preparation of the peace documents at the peace conference in Versailles, the Zionist movement insisted on the need for the conference resolution on the British Mandate of Palestine to include a reference to the main task of the British mandate of Palestine; namely, to seek the establishment of a national home for the Jews.

10. In 1921 Lord Allenby, commander of the British troops that invaded Palestine and kicked the Turks out of it and later the British Commissioner in Egypt, asked Colonel Richard Meiner Tizhagen, Middle East Director of Operations, to draft a memorandum containing specific recommendations about Egypt and Palestine to submit to British Prime Minister Lloyd George.

    Al-Zawahiri adds: We have to pause here. As is known, this is the policy being applied today regarding the disarmament of Sinai, which serves as a buffer zone between Egypt and Israel, under the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

11. Britain's efforts did not stop at rendering services to the Jews militarily and politically. It put pressure on its Arab allies, who revolted in collaboration with the British against the Caliphate, to accept the existence of Israel.

Upon the divulgence of the articles in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1917 and the Balfour Declaration that followed it, the Arab allies were greatly shocked. Britain sent Commander Hogarth, representing the Cairo Office, to meet with Al-Sharif Hussein in Jeddah to explain the circumstances and continue to put pressure on the subservient ally, who had no choice but to follow the line of subservience. The following is an excerpt from Commander Hogarth's report on the meeting:

> ***“With respect to the Sykes-Picot, Al-Sharif Hussein said that if there is a marginal amendment to the original plans dictated by the war necessities he is prepared to acknowledge this necessity explicitly. However, he asked that we should inform him***

explicitly about the details of the required amendments and the necessities that dictate them."

Al-Sharif Hussein raised the issue of France's demands in Syria. Commander Hogarth said: France now sees with our eyes (meaning the eyes of the English) as far as Syria is concerned. All that France wants is to protect and help Syria's independence. Al-Sharif Hussein did not seem convinced. Regarding the Balfour Declaration, Colonel Hogarth started to explain to Al-Sharif Hussein lengthy details about the growth of the Zionist movement during the war, the great value of the Jewish interests and Jewish influence, and the benefits of cooperating with them (meaning the Jewish, their interests, and their influence).

Al-Sharif Hussein's response indicated his willingness to accept the formula of the Balfour Declaration. In his report to the War Ministry in London, Colonel Hogarth said: Al-Sharif Hussein enthusiastically agreed and said that he welcomes the Jews in all the Arab countries."

As regards Prince Faysal, son of Al-Sharif Hussein, his mentor and famous British intelligence officers Lawrence convinced him to meet with Chaim Weizmann in Aqaba, in preparations for the Versailles Conference, in the first week of January 1919. The two signed an agreement that stipulated the following:

"His Royal Highness Prince Faysal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom in Hijaz; and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist movement, realize the closeness in race and ancient links between the Arabs and the Jewish people.

Based on the provisions of the agreement, we realize the following:

Faysal has recognized Palestine as a state on equal footing with the Hebrew State. He even recognized the final borders between the two sides."

Therefore, Anwar al-Sadat was not the first who signed a separate peace agreement between the Arabs and Israel.

The agreement also encouraged a large-scale Jewish immigration and recognized the Balfour Declaration.

An Airlift Between the United States and Israel

Al-Zawahiri notes that the events and facts in this regard are too many to mention. However, he cites some important examples.

During the 1973 October war between the Arabs and Israel, the United States began airlifting to Israel weapons, ammunition, equipment, and even tanks from the warehouses of the operating US Army units directly into the battlefield.

Commenting on this airlift, former Egyptian War Minister Muhammad Abd-al-Ghani al-Jamasi says: The US airlift lasted for 33 days, from 13 October to 14 November 1973. Approximately 24 percent of the plane capacity of the Air Transport Command was used everyday throughout the period of the airlift.

Some 22,497 tons of weapons, equipment, and ammunition were airlifted to Israel, of which 39 percent was transported between 13-24 October 1973. Eight civilian Israeli 747s and 707s aircraft were used to transport 5,500 tons of equipment during the same period.

In addition to the airlift, 74 percent of the total magnitude of the urgent military plan for supplies and support was shipped by sea. The purpose of this operation was to compensate Israel for the war losses and expeditiously upgrade the combat capabilities.

The quality and quantity of the weapons, equipment, and ammunitions that reached Israel via the airlift were varied.

It is noticeable that the US airlift began on 13 October, the day that preceded the advanced Egyptian offensive toward the Sinai straits on 14 October. Israel managed to repulse this attack.

Through the airlift, the United States managed to upgrade the combat capabilities of the Israeli troops in the final stage of the October war. This tipped the balance of military power in favour of Israel. It also demonstrated the US absolute support and backing for Israel in this war.

In my estimate, the US airlift and the US air reconnaissance flights over the Canal front on 13 and 15 October were the direct reason for causing an Israeli military superiority that enabled it to successfully carry out the Al-Difrswar Battle. Without this direct and flagrant military support for Israel, it would not have been able to achieve the success that it made in the last part of the war.

The political support for Israel, or the pressure exercised on its neighbors, have never ceased since its establishment. For example, on the same day the (Egyptian-Israeli) peace treaty was signed in Washington on 26 March 1979 the United States and Israel signed an agreement entitled “Agreement of Understanding Between the United States and Israel for Acknowledging Israel's Military Guarantees if the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty is Violated."

The following are highlights from this dangerous agreement:

1. If it becomes known to the United States that a violation of the peace treaty, or a threat to violate it, has occurred, it will consult with the parties on the measures that need to be adopted to end this violation.

2. It will adopt the measures it deems appropriate, including the diplomatic, economic, and military measures mentioned hereinafter.

3. The United States will adopt what it deems necessary to support the acts that Israel undertakes to confront such violations of the peace treaty, particularly if it is believed that the violation of the peace treaty threatens Israel's security. This includes, for instance, subjecting Israel to a blockade that prevents it from using international waterways, violating the peace treaty regarding troop limitations, or launching an armed attack on Israel. In such case, the United States is prepared to consider, with urgent speed, the adoption of such measures as beefing up the US presence in the region, supplying Israel with urgent needs, and exercising its maritime rights to put an end to this violation.

4. The United States will object to and necessarily reject any UN act or resolution that in its view runs contrary to the peace treaty!

5. The existing agreements or assurances between the United States and Israel shall not be revoked or amended by the peace treaty!

The United States handed a copy of this memorandum to Al-Sadat a day before the peace treaty was signed, but this did not prevent Al-Sadat from signing the treaty next day. He even signed a new document entitled “A Complementary Agreement for Full Autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza."

Upon examining this agreement, a number of extremely serious meanings come to mind:

1. The United States has given itself the right to use its military force against Egypt if the latter undertakes an action that the United States considers a violation of the peace treaty or a threat to Israel's security.

2. The United States signed an agreement with one side of the treaty, which is Israel, but not with both sides. This means that any US threat to use its influence and military power is directed against Egypt only if it tries to violate the treaty, but not against Israel.

3. The United States gave itself the right to object to any UN action or resolution that, in its views, conflicts with the peace treaty.

This means that the peace treaty and Israel's security are more important to the United States than the UN and its resolutions. This demonstrates the extent of US hypocrisy in using the UN and the international legitimacy to serve its interests.

The United States explicitly states its non-compliance with the UN resolutions as far as Israel's security is concerned. In the meantime, the poor countries in the world, particularly in the Israeli world, are committed to full compliance with the UN resolutions to the point of humiliation and the killing of hundreds of thousands of children.

According to the United States, this agreement is not revoked or amended by the peace treaty. This means that this agreement takes precedence over the peace treaty. However, Article 6 of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel stipulates that in the event the obligations of the parties under this treaty are in conflict with any other obligations the commitments arising from this treaty shall be binding and valid."

This means that the peace treaty takes precedence over any treaty that binds Egypt to declaring war against Israel. This limitation is intended to make Egypt give up its obligations under the common Arab Defense Pact. This pact binds Egypt to intervene against any aggression involving a member state of this pact.

The effect of this humiliating limitation was evident. After the peace treaty, Israel bombarded the nuclear reactor in Iraq, invaded southern Lebanon and placed an agent army there, occupied Dahlak island at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, increased its support for the secessionist movement in southern Sudan, and allied itself with Turkey to isolate Syria. It even suggested that Israel's security extends as far as Pakistan in the east, in a clear reference to the Pakistani nuclear program, which Israel considers a threat.

Among the flagrant examples that show the extent of the US support for Israel, to the point of forcing the regimes toward submission, is the US pressure on the Egyptian regime to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. Meanwhile, Israel publicly declares that it will not sign the treaty because of its special circumstances. Despite this, the United States declares its sympathy with Israel and overlooks its actions.

It is both astonishing and disturbing at the same time to see that a country such as Pakistan, which has strong ties with the United States, has refused to sign the treaty so long as its enemy India has not signed it. Unlike Egypt, Pakistan has not steeped down into the level to which the Egyptian regime reached in giving up everything to obey the United States.

It transpires from the above that the west has played a colluding role in establishing Israel in the heart of the Muslim nation. The US role in this crime was and remains one played by the leader of all criminals.

It also transpires that in playing this role, the western countries were backed by their peoples, who are free in their decision. It is true that they may be largely influenced by the media decision and distortion, but in the end they cast their votes in the elections to choose the governments that they want, pay taxes to fund their policy, and hold them accountable about how this money was spent.

Regardless of method by which these governments obtain the votes of the people, voters in the western countries ultimately cast their votes willingly. These peoples have willingly called for, supported, and backed the establishment of and survival of the State of Israel.

The western peoples continued to make this demand for decades, and it was not a haphazard demand. It was the fruit of a tree watered by hatred of Islam and the Muslims for several centuries. Based on this fact, we must build a realistic policy toward the west so that we do not fall from the sky of illusions to hit the land of reality.

In addition, we must acknowledge that the west, led by the United States, which is under the influence of the Jews, does not know the language of ethics, morality, and legitimate rights.

They only know the language of interests backed by brute military force. Therefore, if we wish to have a dialogue with them and make them aware of our rights, we must talk to them in the language that they understand.

Egypt Has Restored Sinai Politically

Regarding the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Al-Zawahiri adds: Whoever examines the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty will realize that it was intended to be a permanent treaty from which Egypt could not break loose.

It was concluded in an attempt to establish on the ground, by force and coercion, a situation whereby it would be difficult to change by any government hostile to Israel that comes after Al-Sadat.

Part Eleven

In the 11th chapter of his memoir, which is considered his last will", Al-Zawahiri explores future horizons. It seems that the Egyptian Al-Jihad Group leader wrote this chapter shortly before the September 11 events.

In his book entitled Knights Under the Prophet's Banner", Al-Zawahiri says that killing the Americans with a single bullet, a stab, or a device made up of a popular mixture (of explosives) or hitting them with an iron bar is not impossible. Likewise, burning their property with Molotov cocktail is not difficult.

Al-Zawahiri underlines in black the words to which he wants to draw the attention of his advocates in the Islamist movement. It is as if he is dotting the Is and crossing the Ts. He talks about the small groups" that could prove to be a frightening horror to the Americans and the Jews, which was demonstrated one way or another in the September 11 incidents carried out by the martyrdom seekers in the United States.

Al-Zawahiri describes the method of the martyrdom operations as the most successful in inflicting damage on the opponent and the least costly in terms of casualties among the Islamists.

He adds: The targets and the type of weapons must be selected carefully to cause damage to the enemy's structure and deter it enough to make it stop its brutality.

Al-Zawahiri urges members of the Islamist movements to cause the greatest damage and inflict the maximum casualties on the opponent, no matter how much time and effort these operations take, because this is the language understood by the west.

In general, Al-Zawahiri calls for moving the battle to the enemy's ground, which he considers the main target of the Islamist movement. He adds: The struggle for the establishment of the Muslim state cannot be considered a regional struggle, certainly not after it had been ascertained that what he describes as the Crusader alliance led by the United States" will not allow any Muslim force to reach power in the Arab countries.

He notes that confining the battle to the domestic enemy, meaning within the Arab states, will not be feasible in this stage of the battle, which he considers the battle of every Muslim.

Al-Zawahiri adds: Victory by the armies cannot be achieved unless the infantry occupies the territory. Likewise, victory for the Islamic movements against the world alliance cannot be attained unless these movements possess an Islamic base in the heart of the Arab region. He notes that mobilizing and arming the nation will be up in the air, without any tangible results, until a Islamist state is established in the region. Bin Laden's chief ally admits that the establishment of a Muslim state in the heart of the Islamic world is not an easy or close target. However, it is the hope of the Muslim nation to restore its fallen caliphate and regain its lost glory. He advises members of the Islamist movement not to precipitate collision and to be patient about victory.

He adds: We must not despair of the repeated strikes and calamities. We must never lay down our arms no matter how much losses or sacrifices we endure. Let us start again after every strike, even if we had to begin from scratch.

He answers an important question about the Islamist movements if their plans are exposed, their members are arrested, and their existence is threatened. He adds: It is better for the movement to pull out whoever it could pull out quietly, without reluctance, hesitation, or reliance on illusions.

Al-Zawahiri refers to the experience of captivity, as if he was looking at the future in an open book and reviewing the investigations conducted with his Egyptian Islamist colleagues held in London and New York in connection with the bombing of the US embassies in Africa. These investigations revealed many of the al-Qa'ida secrets. He adds: Once the door of the cell is closed, the prisoner will wish that he had spent his entire life without a shelter rather than endure the humiliation of captivity. The toughest thing about captivity is forcing the mujahid, under the force of torture, to confess about his colleagues, destroy his movement with his own hands, and offer his and his colleagues' secrets to his enemies.

"And those who disbelieved said unto their messengers: Verily we will drive you out from our land, unless ye return to our religion. Then their lord inspired them, saying verily We shall destroy the wrongdoers. And verily We shall make you to swell in the land after them. This is for him who feareth My Majesty and feareth My threats."

----------- Al-Quran

It's now time to explore the future of the jihad movement in Egypt in particular and the world in general.

Emerging phenomena:

Any neutral observer could discern a number of phenomena in our Islamic world in general and Egypt in particular:

The universality of the battle:

The western forces that are hostile to Islam have clearly identified their enemy. They refer to it as the Islamic fundamentalism. They are joined in this by their old enemy, Russia. They have adopted a number of tools to fight Islam, including:

a) The United Nations.

b) The friendly rulers of the Muslim peoples.

c) The multinational corporations.

d) The international communications and data exchange systems.

e) The international news agencies and satellite media channels.

f) The international relief agencies, which are being used as a cover for espionage, proselytizing, coup planning, and the transfer of weapons.

In the face of this alliance, an Islamist coalition is taking shape. It is made up of the jihad movements in the various lands of Islam as well as the two countries that have been liberated in the name of jihad for the sake of Allah, Afghanistan and Chechnya.

If this coalition is still at an early stage, its growth is increasingly and steadily accelerating.

It represents a growing power that is rallying under the banner of jihad for the sake of Allah and operating outside the scope of the New World Order. It is free of the servitude for the dominating western empire. It promises destruction and ruin for the new Crusades against the lands of Islam. It is ready for revenge against the heads of the world's gathering of infidels, the United States, Russia, and Israel. It is anxious to seek retribution for the blood of the martyrs, the grief of the mothers, the deprivation of the orphans, the suffering of the detainees, and the sores of the tortured people throughout the land of Islam, from Eastern Turkestan to Andalusia (Islamic state in Spain).

This age is witnessing a new phenomenon that continues to gain ground. It is the phenomenon of the mujahid youths who have abandoned their families, country, wealth, studies, and jobs in search of jihad arenas for the sake of Allah .

There is no solution without jihad:

With the emergence of this new batch of Islamists, who have been missing from the nation for a long time, a new awareness is increasingly developing among the sons of Islam, who are eager to uphold it; namely, that there is no solution without jihad.

The spread of this awareness has been augmented by the failure of all other methods that tried to evade assuming the burdens of jihad. The Algerian experience has provided a harsh lesson in this regard. It proved to Muslims that the west is not only an infidel but also a hypocrite and a liar. The principles that it brags about are exclusive to, and the personal property of, its people alone. They are not to be shared by the peoples of Islam, at least nothing more that what a master leaves his slave in terms of food crumbs.

The Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria has overlooked the tenets of the creed, the facts of history and politics, the balance of power, and the laws of control. It rushed to the ballot boxes in a bid to reach the presidential palaces and the ministries, only to find at the gates tanks loaded with French ammunition, with their barrels pointing at the chests of those who forgot the rules of confrontation between justice and falsehood. The guns of the Francophile officers brought them down to the land of reality from the skies of illusions.

The Islamic Salvation men thought that the gates of rule had been opened for them, but they were surprised to see themselves pushed toward the gates of detention camps and prisons and into the cells of the new world order.

Particularly helpful in reaching the conclusion that there is no solution without jihad were the brutality and arbitrary nature of the new Jewish Crusade that treats the Islamic nation with extreme contempt. As a result, the Muslims in general and the Arabs in particular are left with nothing that is dear to them. We have become like orphans in a banquet for the villains (Arabic proverb).

Someone may ask: Don't you think that you are contradicting yourself? A short while ago you talked about the spread of despair in the hearts of some leaders of the jihad movement and now you are talking about a widespread jihad awakening?

The answer is simple. All movements go through a cycle of erosion and renewal, but it is the ultimate result that determines the fate of a movement: Either extinction or growth.

Confirmed duties:

The Islamic movement in general and the jihad movements in particular, must train themselves and their members on perseverance, patience, steadfastness, and adherence to firm principles. The leadership must set an example for the members to follow. This is the key to victory.:

”O ye who believe. Endure, outdo all others in endurance, be ready, and observe your duty to Allah, in order that ye may succeed." (
Al Quran

If signs of relaxation and retreat start to show on the leadership, the movement must find ways to straighten out its leadership and not to permit it to deviate from the line of jihad.

The loyalty to the leadership and the acknowledgement of its precedence and merit represent a duty that must be emphasized and a value that must be consolidated. But if loyalty to the leadership reaches the point of declaring it holy and if the acknowledgement of its precedence and merit leads to infallibility, the movement will suffer from methodological blindness. Any leadership flaw could lead to a historic catastrophe, not only for the movement but also for the entire nation.

Hence comes the importance of the issue of leadership in Islamic action in general and jihad action in particular and the nation's need for a scientific, struggling, and rational leadership that could guide the nation, amidst the mighty storms and hurricanes, toward its goal with awareness and prudence, without losing sight of its path, stumbling aimlessly, or reversing its course.

Mobilizing the Islamic Movement

The mobilization (tajyyish) of the nation, its participation in the struggle, and caution against the struggle of the elite with the authority:

The jihad movement must come closer to the masses, defend their honour, fend off injustice, and lead them to the path of guidance and victory. It must step forward in the arena of sacrifice and excel to get its message across in a way that makes the right accessible to all seekers and that makes access to the origin and facts of religion simple and free of the complexities of terminology and the intricacies of composition.

The jihad movement must dedicate one of its wings to work with the masses, preach, provide services for the Muslim people, and share their concerns through all available avenues for charity and educational work. We

must not leave a single area unoccupied. We must win the people's confidence, respect, and affection. The people will not love us unless they felt that we love them, care about them, and are ready to defend them.

In short, in waging the battle the jihad movement must be in the middle, or ahead, of the nation. It must be extremely careful not to get isolated from its nation or engage the government in the battle of the elite against the authority.

We must not blame the nation for not responding or not living up to the task. Instead, we must blame ourselves for failing to deliver the message, show compassion, and sacrifice.

The jihad movement must be eager to make room for the Muslim nation to participate with it in the jihad for the sake of empowerment (al-tamkin). The Muslim nation will not participate with it unless the slogans of the Mujahideen are understood by the masses of the Muslim nation.

The one slogan that has been well understood by the nation and to which it has been responding for the past 50 years is the call for the jihad against Israel. In addition to this slogan, the nation in this decade is geared against the US presence. It has responded favourably to the call for the jihad against the Americans.

A single look at the history of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, Palestine, and Chechnya will show that the jihad movement has moved to the center of the leadership of the nation when it adopted the slogan of liberating the nation from its external enemies and when it portrayed it as a battle of Islam against infidelity and infidels.

The strange thing is that secularists, who brought disasters to the Muslim nation, particularly on the arena of the Arab-Israeli conflict; and who started the march of treason by recognizing Israel beginning with the Armistice Agreement of 1949, as we explained earlier, are the ones who talk the most about the issue of Palestine.

Stranger still is the fact that the Muslims, who have sacrificed the most for Jerusalem, whose doctrine and Shari'ah prevent them from abandoning any part of Palestine or recognizing Israel, as we explained earlier; and who are the most capable of leading the nation in its jihad against Israel are the least active in championing the issue of Palestine and raising its slogans among the masses.

The jihad movement's opportunity to lead the nation toward jihad to liberate Palestine is now doubled. All the secular currents that paid lip service to the issue of Palestine and competed with the Islamic movement to lead the nation in this regard are now exposed before the Muslim nation following their recognition of Israel's existence and adoption of negotiations and compliance with the international resolutions to liberate what is left, or permitted by Israel, of Palestine. These currents differ among themselves on the amount of crumbs thrown by Israel to the Muslim and the Arabs.

The fact that must be acknowledged is that the issue of Palestine is the cause that has been firing up the feelings of the Muslim nation from Morocco to Indonesia for the past 50 years. In addition, it is a rallying point for all the Arabs, be they believers or non-believers, good or evil.

Small Groups Could Frighten the Americans

Through this jihad the stances of the rulers, their henchmen of ulema of the sultan (reference to pro-government clerics), writers, and judges, and the security agencies will be exposed. By so doing, the Islamic movement will prove their treason before the masses of the Muslim nation and demonstrate that the reason for their treason is a flaw in their faith. They have allied themselves with the enemies of Allah against His supporters and antagonized the Mujahideen, because of their Islam and jihad, in favour of the Jewish and Christian enemies of the nation. They have committed a violation of monotheism by supporting the infidels against the Muslims.

Tracking down the Americans and the Jews is not impossible. Killing them with a single bullet, a stab, or a device made up of a popular mix of explosives or hitting them with an iron rod is not impossible. Burning down their property with Molotov Cocktails is not difficult. With the available means, small groups could prove to be a frightening horror for the Americans and the Jews.

The Islamic movement in general and the jihad movement in particular must launch a battle for orienting the nation by:

1. -Exposing the rulers who are fighting Islam.

2. Highlighting the importance of loyalty to the faithful and relinquishment of the infidels in the Muslim creed.

3. Holding every Muslim responsible for defending Islam, its sanctities, nation, and homeland.

4. Cautioning against the ulema of the sultan and reminding the nation of the virtues of the ulema of jihad and the imams of sacrifice and the need for the nation to defend, protect, honor, and follow them.

5. Exposing the extent of aggression against our creed and sanctities and the plundering of our wealth.

Adherence to the goal of establishing the Muslim state in the heart of the Islamic world:

The jihad movement must adopt its plan on the basis of controlling a piece of land in the heart of the Islamic world on which it could establish and protect the state of Islam and launch its battle to restore the rational caliphate based on the traditions of the prophet.

Towards an Islamic Base in the Heart of the Islamic World

Armies achieve victory only when the infantry takes hold of land. Likewise, the mujahid Islamic movement will not triumph against the world coalition unless it possesses a Islamist base in the heart of the Islamic world. All the means and plans that we have reviewed for mobilizing the nation will remain up in the air without a tangible gain or benefit unless they lead to the establishment of the state of caliphate in the heart of the Islamic world.

Nur-al-Din Zangi, and Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) after him, may Allah bless their souls, have fought scores of battles until Nur-al-Din managed to wrestle Damascus from of the hands of the hypocrites and unified Greater Syria under his command. He sent Salah-al-Din to Egypt, where he fought one battle after another until he brought Egypt under his control. When Egypt and Syria were unified after the death of Nur-al-Din, the mujahid Sultan Salah-al-Din managed to win the battle of Hittin and conquered Bayt al-Maqdis (Islamic name for Jerusalem). Only then did the cycle of history turn against the Crusaders.

If the successful operations against Islam's enemies and the severe damage inflicted on them do not serve the ultimate goal of establishing the Muslim nation in the heart of the Islamic world, they will be nothing more than disturbing acts, regardless of their magnitude, that could be absorbed and endured, even if after some time and with some losses.

The establishment of a Muslim state in the heart of the Islamic world is not an easy goal or an objective that is close at hand. But it constitutes the hope of the Muslim nation to reinstate its fallen caliphate and regain its lost glory.

If the goal of the jihad movement in the heart of the Islamic world in general and Egypt in particular is to cause change and establish an Islamic state, it must not precipitate collision or be impatient about victory.

The jihad movement must patiently build its structure until it is well established. It must pool enough resources and supporters and devise enough plans to fight the battle at the time and arena that it chooses.

However, an extremely important and serious question arises here; namely, what if the movement's members or plans are uncovered, if its members are arrested, the movement's survival is at risk, and a campaign of arrests and storming operations targets its members, funds, resources, and leaders?

In this case, the movement must ask itself a specific question and give a clear answer.

Could it disperse in the face of the storm and pull out of the field with the least possible casualties? Or is patience not feasible and means total defeat and there is no room for withdrawal?

Or perhaps the answer could be a combination of the two aforesaid scenarios, meaning that it could pull out some of its leaders and members safely, leaving some others to face the risk of captivity and brutality.

In my opinion, the answer is that the movement must pull out as many personnel as possible to the safety of a shelter without hesitation, reluctance, or reliance on illusions. The most serious decision facing someone under siege is the escape decision. It is the hardest thing to leave the family, the position, the job, and the steady style of life and proceed to the unknown, uncertainties, and the uneasy life.

But as soon as the door of the cell closes behind the prisoner he wishes that he had spent his entire life displaced without a shelter rather than facing the humiliating experience of captivity.

But if the entire movement, or part of it, faces a situation where the noose is being tightened around it and its collapse is a matter of days or hours, the movement, or at least this wing of the movement, must initiate the battle of collision with the regime so that nobody is captured or killed for nothing.

Here, we must recall what we have already explained in terms of the nature of the composition of the universal regime that is hostile to Islam and its relationship with the ruling regimes in our countries. As we emphasized earlier, we must mobilize the nation in the battle of Islam against infidelity. We cautioned earlier against the risk of seeing the Muslim vanguards getting killed in silence as part of the battle of the elite against the authority.

Striking at the Americans and the Jews

Thus, if the unjust forces drag us into a battle at a time that we do not want, we must respond in the arena that we choose; namely, to strike at the Americans and the Jews in our countries. By this, we win three times:

First, by dealing the blow to the great master, which is hiding from our strikes behind its agent.

Second, by winning over the nation when we choose a target that it favours, one that it sympathizes with those who hit it.

Third, by exposing the regime before the Muslim people when this regime attacks us to defend its US and Jewish masters, thus showing its ugly face, the face of the hired policeman who is faithfully serving the occupiers and the enemies of the Muslim nation.

If our goal is comprehensive change and if our path, as the Koran and our history have shown us, is a long road of jihad and sacrifices, we must not despair of repeated strikes and recurring calamities. We must never lay down our arms, regardless of the casualties or sacrifices.

We must realize that countries do not fall all of a sudden. They fall by pushing and overcoming.

Moving the Battle to the Enemy

The Islamic movement and its jihad vanguards, and actually the entire Islamic nation, must involve the major criminals-the United States, Russia, and Israel-in the battle and do not let them run the battle between the jihad movement and our governments in safety. They must pay the price, and pay dearly for that matter.

The masters in Washington and Tel Aviv are using the regimes to protect their interests and to fight the battle against the Muslims on their behalf. If the shrapnel from the battle reach their homes and bodies, they will trade accusations with their agents about who is responsible for this. In that case, they will face one of two bitter choices: Either personally wage the battle against the Muslims, which means that the battle will turn into clear-cut jihad against infidels, or they reconsider their plans after acknowledging the failure of the brute and violent confrontation against Muslims.

Therefore, we must move the battle to the enemy's grounds to burn the hands of those who ignite fire in our countries.

The struggle for the establishment of the Muslim state cannot be launched as a regional struggle:

It is clear from the above that the Jewish-Crusade alliance, led by the United States, will not allow any Muslim force to reach power in any of the Islamic countries. It will mobilize all its power to hit it and remove it from power. Toward that end, it will open a battlefront against it that includes the entire world. It will impose sanctions on whoever helps it, if it does not declare war against them altogether. Therefore, to adjust to this new reality

we must prepare ourselves for a battle that is not confined to a single region, one that includes the apostate domestic enemy and the Jewish-Crusade external enemy.

The struggle against the external enemy cannot be postponed:

It is clear from the above that the Jewish-Crusade alliance will not give us time to defeat the domestic enemy then declare war against it thereafter. The Americans, the Jews, and their allies are present now with their forces, as we explained before.

Unity before the single enemy:

The jihad movement must realize that half the road to victory is attained through its unity, rise above trivial matters, gratitude, and glorification of the interests of Islam above personal whims.

The importance of the unity of the mujahid Islamic movement is perhaps clear now more than anytime before. The movement must seek this unity as soon as possible if it is serious in its quest for victory.

Rallying around and supporting the struggling countries:

Backing and supporting Afghanistan and Chechnya and defending them with the heart, the hand, and the word represent a current duty, for these are the assets of Islam in this age. The Jewish-Crusade campaign is united to crush them. Therefore, we must not be content with safeguarding them only. We must seek to move the battlefront to the heart of the Islamic world, which represents the true arena of the battle and the theatre of the major battles in defense of Islam.

In this regard, these two steadfast castles my not help us much because of many circumstances, the tremendous pressure, and the apparent weakness. Therefore, we must solve this problem ourselves without exposing them to pressure and strikes. This could pose a dilemma for the jihad movement, but it is not impossible to handle. It may be difficult, but it is possible, Allah willing. “

“And whosoever kept his duty to Allah, Allah will appoint a way out for him."
Al Quran

Choosing the Targets and Concentrating on the Martyrdom Operations

Changing the method of strikes:

The mujahid Islamic movement must escalate its methods of strikes and tools of resisting the enemies to keep up with the tremendous increase in the number of its enemies, the quality of their weapons, their destructive powers, their disregard for all taboos, and disrespect for the customs of wars and conflicts. In this regard, we concentrate on the following:

1. The need to inflict the maximum casualties against the opponent, for this is the language understood by the west, no matter how much time and effort such operations take.

2. The need to concentrate on the method of martyrdom operations as the most successful way of inflicting damage against the opponent and the least costly to the Mujahideen in terms of casualties.

3. The targets as well as the type and method of weapons used must be chosen to have an impact on the structure of the enemy and deter it enough to stop its brutality, arrogance, and disregard for all taboos and customs. It must restore the struggle to its real size.

4. To reemphasize what we have already explained, we reiterate that focusing on the domestic enemy alone will not be feasible at this stage.

The battle is for every Muslim

An important point that must be underlined is that this battle, which we must wage to defend our creed, Muslim nation, sanctities, honour, values, wealth, and power, is a battle facing every Muslim, young or old. It is a battle that is broad enough to affect every one of us at home, work, in his children, or dignity.

In order for the masses to move, they need the following:

1. A leadership that they could trust, follow, and understand.

2. A clear enemy to strike at.

3. The shackles of fear and the impediments of weakness in the souls must be broken.

These needs demonstrate to us the serious effects of the so-called initiative to end the violence and similar calls that seek to distort the image of the leadership and take the nation back to the prison of weakness and fear.

To illustrate this danger, let us ask ourselves this question: What will we tell the future generations about our achievements?

Are we going to tell them that we carried arms against our enemies then dropped them and asked them to accept our surrender?

What jihad value could the future generation benefit from such conduct?

We must get our message across to the masses of the nation and break the media siege imposed on the jihad movement. This is an independent battle that we must launch side by side with the military battle.

Liberating the Muslim nation, confronting the enemies of Islam, and launching jihad against them require a Muslim authority, established on a Muslim land that raises the banner of jihad and rallies the Muslims around it. Without achieving this goal our actions will mean nothing more than mere and repeated disturbances that will not lead to the aspired goal, which is the restoration of the caliphate and the dismissal of the invaders from the land of Islam.

This goal must remain the basic objective of the Islamic jihad movement, regardless of the sacrifices and the time involved.

(Description of Source: London Al-Sharq al-Awsat in Arabic -- Influential Saudi-owned London daily providing independent coverage of Arab and international issues; editorials reflect official Saudi views on foreign policy.)